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THE
Diary and Autobiography
OF
EDMUND BOHUN ESQ.

AUTHOR OF THE 'HISTORY OF THE DESERTION' OF THE THRONE BY KING JAMES II, &c. &c.,
LICENSER OF THE PRESS IN THE REIGN OF WILLIAM AND MARY, AND SUBSEQUENTLY
CHIEF JUSTICE OF SOUTH CAROLINA:

WITH AN
Introductory Memoir, Notes, and Illustrations,
BY
S. WILTON RIX.

'VIR JUSTUS, PROBUS, INNOCENS, TIMIDUS.' MARIET.

PRIVATELY PRINTED AT BECCLES BY READ CRISP:
M.D.CCC.LIII.

South Carolina; by will dated 11th J. 19th Aug. 1701,

Feb. 1700; bur. at Westhall 6th Sept. 1703; will dated 1st Sept. 1703, proved 17th Sept. 1703, reg. archd. Suff.

diarist.



(4) Humphry, (7) Edm. born 11th and bap. 26th May 1670, at Pulham St. Mary; died 1st Dec. 1692 at Cambridge.

& Dorowue of Beeches, twins, and son of John Browne and of Hester only child of Benjamin Le Grice; bap. 21th January

(9) Edmund, baptized at Beeches 30th Mar. 1703; died an infant.

Mary, only = dau. and heiress; mar. May 1732; d. in her husband's life time.

Joseph Olley esq., son of Stephen Olley esq. of Norton hall, Derbyshire, and Urith his wife dau. of Samuel Smyth esq. of Colkirk in Norfolk, and a descendant of the Harringtons of Rutland; d. 3rd Sep. 1751, aged 49.



1st June 1732; will dated 29th May 1732.

Mary, eldest dau.; mar. Richard Baker esq. 19th Dec. 1723.

Shore high of shire had a hall a tion.



Hannah Maria = Olley, aged 11 at her father's death; mar. 18th June 1767.

Francis Edmunds esq. of Worsbro', Yorkshire; died 1st July 1825, aged 89.



1. Elizabeth = Wil Browne, born 4th August 1759; living in 1853.

Crow Bohun surg. Shore, r. 1. a col. and. ann. Bee d. 2 Ma 18; at.

Maria = Elizabeth Edmunds, elder daughter.

Henry Martin esq. of Colston Bassett, Notts., M. R. for Kinsale, second son of Capt. William Martin M. R. and Arabella, dau. of Admiral Sir William Rowley K. B.; d. 1839.



Urith-Amelia, Francis Olley married Mary Beresford, dau. of Francis Ferrand Foljambe esq. of Aldwark, and died s. p.

1. Elizabeth Georgiana, d. 4th Nov. 1812, aged 24.
2. William John Crowfoot M. D. of Beeches.
3. Anna Maria m. Rev. John Walder Crabb rector of Great Little Glenham Suffolk who died 1810; 1810, 1837;
Three daughters, ann. 1852.

William Bennet Martin esq. of Worsbro', born 7th Oct. 1796; mar. Augusta Maria Chaloner 25th Nov. 1831; sold Dale hall; d. 18ts, leaving issue; eldest son assumes the name of Edmunds.

Henry Burgess Martin esq. of Colston Bassett.

George Bohun Martin, capt. R. S. C. N. of East Bridgford, Notts. and Crabb's Abbey, Wiggshall St. Mary, Norf.; mar. Isabella Harriett, dau. of Rear adm. Sir Thomas Biggs.

Francis Olley Martin esq. of Stendon Place, Brentwood, Essex; m. Mary dau. of Rev. Sam. Smith D. D. dean of Cheshchurch and prebend of Durham.

Augusta Anne, m. Richard T. Fisher esq. of Lincoln's Inn.

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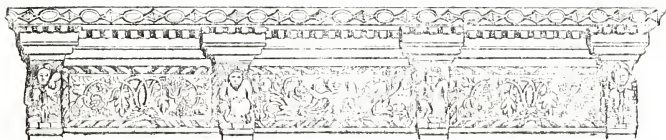




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Editor's Preface.

THE present volume contains what is known, from his own account and from other sources, of EDWARD BOWEN, a voluminous political and miscellaneous writer in the latter part of the seventeenth century. He was of a Suffolk family; and the book is, in one view, a humble contribution to the still incomplete topography of that county. However, it is not entirely local in its bearing. The lover of the older literature meets here with one who loved it too. The student of human character may find material for thought and lessons of instruction. Now and then topics are referred to, which have long agitated and still continue to interest the world — government, freedom, protestantism, commerce, colonization. Lastly, the autobiography presents the image of one of that class of politicians whose loyalty to the Stuarts did not induce them to sympathize with the nonjurors, and may help to illustrate perhaps the most interesting period of English history.

The autograph Diary occupies a hundred and fourteen pages, nearly of the size technically called foolscap octavo. It is in the possession of my friend Richard Bohun esq. of Beccles, and is printed with his sanction. A few of the diarist's letters are added — the only specimens which have been discovered.

I have preferred the plan of giving in the text a translation of that part of the diary which is written in latin; the original being inserted underneath. In general the orthography of the manuscript has been adopted; but in many instances I have followed the learned editor of Wood's *'Athene'* in rejecting, as of little value, that minuteness which 'retains the mistakes of an author merely for the sake of bibliographical accuracy.'

In the notes — demanding, I fear, an apology for their number and extent — will be found some account of Mr. Bohun's writings, of books which he read, of localities with which he was connected,

and of his family and acquaintance. But chiefly in the 'Descent of the families of De Bohun, Bohun of Pressingfield and Westhall, Browne-Bohun, etc.' and in the 'Introductory memoir' to which it is prefixed, must be sought what has been collected towards completing his biography.

In the preface to his 'Character of queen Elizabeth' he says, 'If I were worthy to have my story written, or my picture drawn, I should wish they might be equally *true*, and represent both my life and face just such as they were.' By this injunction I am excused, and even prohibited, from concealing his natural frailties, however strongly marked. Nor have I, in general, undertaken either to vindicate or to combat the opinions of the diarist. it is my province to exhibit his views and modes of thinking, not my own.

It has not been my aim to produce a 'popular' book; and I am conscious that a literary monograph should manifest a mastery and precision to which I have no pretensions, and a nice adherence to the line between general statements and trivial details which I can scarcely hope even to have approached.

I might refer to disadvantages under which I have worked. But it is more proper, and more agreeable, to acknowledge the frequent, various, and kind assistance without which I could have done nothing. My thanks are especially due to Dawson Turner esq., Sir Francis Palgrave, Thomas William King esq. York herald, and the registrars of the ecclesiastical courts in the diocese of Norwich; to John Bruce esq., Francis Offley Martin esq. of Stondon place, Brentwood, the Rev. Samuel Blois Turner of Hidesworth, the Rev. Alfred Suckling of Barsham, the Rev. J. F. Noott of Westhall, and William A. Wright esq. of Trinity college, Cambridge. Nor would I forget to name the late David Elisha Davy esq. of Ufford, to whose fine collection of materials for Suffolk history, recently deposited in the British Museum, and to the courteous liberality of their possessor I have been not a little indebted.

In justice to the printers, and to the various processes employed, it should be stated that I alone am answerable for all faults in the illustrations.

S. W. R.

BECCLES, 15th February, 1853.



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Introductory Memoir.



Introductory Memoir.

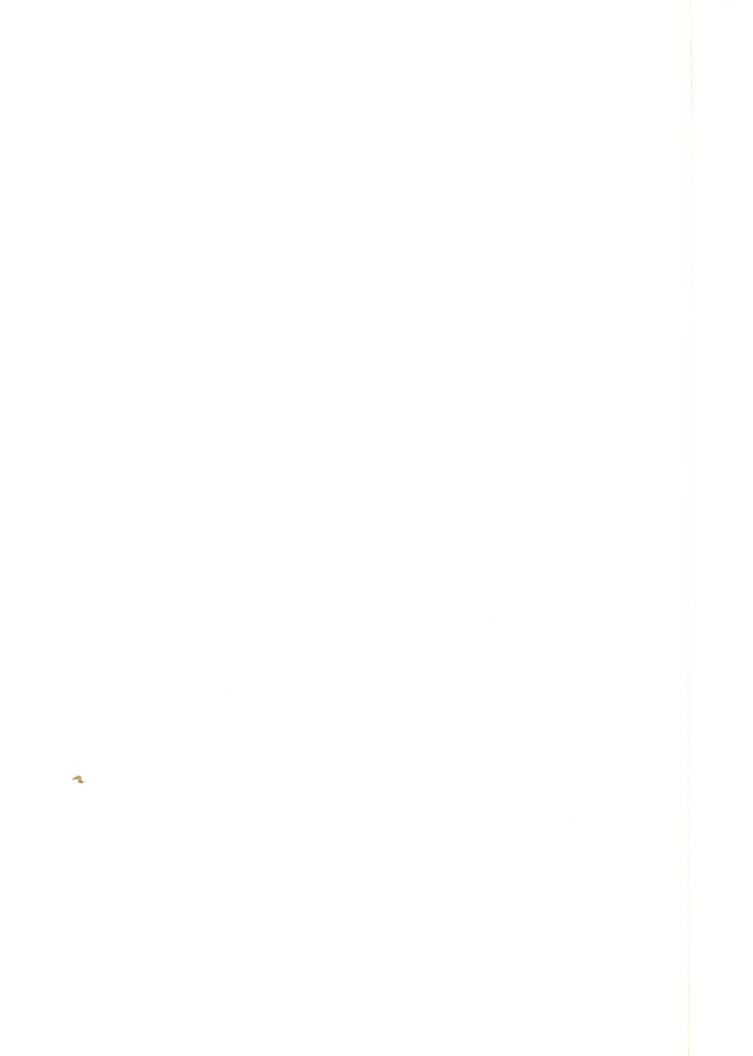
A family bearing the name of Bohun was located at Fressingfield, in Suffolk, in the fifteenth century, when *John Bohun* acquired an estate there by marriage with the heiress of Robert Dalinghoo.*

The Bohuns of Suffolk were not, at any period, extensive land-owners; yet they formed alliances with various honourable houses, including those of Wingfield, Latymer, Coke, and Knyvett. An intermarriage with the last mentioned family enabled the

* In virtue of this alliance the Bohuns quartered the arms of Dalinghoo, vert, 9 fleurs-de-lis argent, 3, 3, and 3.

The will of John Bohun was, in 1812, among the muniments of Dr. Fisher bishop of Salisbury. It serves to identify, as a Fressingfield domicile of the Bohuns, the spot now called the Church farm, which passed, by marriage, into the Grudgefield family, and again to the Scriveners, with whom it continues. In one of the rooms of the now modernized but ancient house there are remnants of a quaintly carved chimney piece, as well as some portions of flat tracery.

"Omnibus [etc.] Joh'nes Bown de Fressingfeld, sal' [etc.] Noveritis q^d hec est ultia voluntas mei dei Johis fact' ap^d Fressingfeld die xxij Aug' m^o Dni 1458; qui precor et exoo oes fcoi^{es} meos et extores meos in oibz fidel' adimpler'. Imprimis, volo post decess' meum q^d Edm^{us} Bown fil' meus et Joha' uxor mea heant simul tot' tent' meum jac' ex pte oecid' riuiterii poch' de Fressingfeld cum p^{te} p^{te} ad tot' vit' ipsius Joh' si inupta pmanerit; et post decess' ejus volo q^d p^{te} Edm^{us} heat tot' tent' p^{te} sibi hered' et assign' suis inuptm." The testator disposes of certain lands to his son Edmund, and of others to his son Richard; enjoining each of them, "q^d solvat p' stipendio unius capⁱ celebrand' in ecclia de Fressingfeld p' un' ann' integrum p' aia mea et p' aiabz parent' meor" [etc.] He further charges Richard as follows: "q^d solvat Robto Bown filio meo v maro' et Alic' filie mee ab et Joh' fil' mee ab." Add. ms. British Museum, 8293.



succeeding generations to trace their lineal descent from Humphry de Bohun, the kinsman and companion in arms of the conqueror, through the proudly allied line of the earls of Hereford.*

Edmund Bohun of Fressingfield, gentleman, younger son of John Bohun, and who was an officer of the court of Exchequer,† had a grant, in 1486, of the heralck coat which is conspicuous on the monuments of the Lany's ‡ and his other lineal descendants, and was also borne by the collateral representatives of his family.§

* Macaulay appears to lose sight of this fact when he writes, 'There were Bohuns, Mowbrays, De Veres, *my*, kinsmen of the house of Plantagenet, with no higher addition than that of esquire.' *Hist. Eng.* i. 38.

Passing over the ancient line of Bohuns of high office, military fame, and rich possessions, as well as the knightly house of Bohun of Midhurst in Sussex, and Bohuns numerous, scattered over various other counties, two individuals may be here mentioned, though not found to be connected with the Fressingfield and Westhall genealogy, who, like our autobiographer, belong to the literary world. Ralph Bohun, fellow of New college, Oxford, 1658, LL. B. 1685, who in his will, proved in the prerogative court of Canterbury, 13th April 1717, is described as of Wotton in Surry, wrote 'A discourse concerning the origine and properties of wind,' Oxford, 1671. 8vo. Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* ed. Bliss, i. 549. William Bohun of the Middle Temple esq. was the author and compiler of several books relating to various branches of the law; and was also, it is presumed, the subject of the anecdote related by Pegge in his 'Curialia miscellanea,' p. 326, and the interpreter of the Cufic inscription on an Alexandrian pillar presented to the Society of Antiquaries and figured and described in the 'Archæologia,' vol. vii. p. 1.

† In Jones's 'Index to the records' is a notice 'De Simone Toppesfeld admissio ad officium unius clericorum parochiarum Scaccarii, post mortem Edmundi Bohun in comit. Suffolcie, Michaelis recorda, 17 Hen. vii. rot. 20.' The arms of Bohun 'de Scaccario domini regis,' with those of his successor, Toppesfeld, and the date 1516, were formerly in a window of Fressingfield church.

‡ Margaret Cooke, granddaughter of this Edmund Bohun, married Richard Lany of London, lineal ancestor of Dr. Benjamin Lany, successively bishop of Peterborough, Lincoln, and Ely, the antagonist of Hobbes, and the dutiful attendant of Charles the second in exile. See Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* ed. Bliss, i. 376, iii. 897, 1212, iv. 113, 818, 850.

§ Grant by Clarenceux king at arms. 'He bereth, goutes between an oule of martlets golde, a cressant ermyu: the crest upon the helme a besant sett between iiij cresants in compres ermyu, upon an hatte goutes furred with ermyu, the mantle azure furred with ermyu.' *Add. MSS.* 8173, fo. 171^b, 8206.

The will of Edmund Bohun was made in 1199, and proved 31st December 1501. "In 164

nomine; xiiij die mensis Maii a^r r' r' Hen' sept' xiiij. Ego Edmus Bohun, compos mentis et sane memoria existens, condo testamentum meum in hunc modum. Inprimis, do et lego animam meam Deo omnipotenti creatori cœli et terre ac b^e Marie et obs seïs, corpus meum sepeliend' in ecclia beatorum aplos Petri et Pauli sanct' situat' infra priorat' de Eye. Itm do et lego priori et convent' de Eye p^{re}dict' xⁱ, et cuilibet canonico ejusd' priorat' ad orand' p' anima mea et p' aiabus parent' amicos et benefact' meos' iij^o v^o viij^o. Itm lego conventui ibm ita ut unus ejusd' convent' licentia sui prioris celebret' missam septimanatim p' aia mea et p' aiabus parent' et benefact' meos' xiiij^o p' quolibet septimanam duraturam usq' ad spatium lx annos percipiend' et delibera' p' manus extor' meos' vel extor' cor' vel p' minus feofiator' meos' de exitibus p^{re}dictis, revertionibus oim' terrar' et tenent' meos' existent' in villa Fressingfield p^{re}dict'. Itm do et lego priori et convent' de Eye p^{re}dict' p' anniversario meo q^{uo}l' a^r ibm celebrand' xⁱ p' p^{re}dict' lx annos distribuend' viz. priori viij^o et cuilibet canonico ejusd' priorat' existent' ad exequias et missam iij^o, et resid^{uum} p' cervis et pulcatonib' campan' percipiend' de exitibus p^{re}dictis et revertionibus oim'

From his brother, *Richard Bohun*, who was also resident at Fressingfield,* who is described in the genealogies as heir of his father, and who died in 1196, while his

trar' et tentor' meor' exist' in villa de Fressingfeld. Itm, do et lego altari de Fressingfeld, p' decimis meis oblitis et negligenter detentis xij' iij^d. Itm, do et lego prepositis gardianis sive ironomis eccleie de Fressingfeld pdict' ad usum diet' eccleie ad emend' unum focale vel turibulum cum ciniba aut ali' focale p' avisiament' executor' meor' xl'. Itm, do et lego xv' distribuend' inter pauperes ejusd' ville de Fres' p' discretionem extor' meor' in div' ann' cum opus fuerit de exitib' et ptibus oium trar' et tentor' meor' in Mendham cum ptin'. Itm, do et lego seo altari eccleie pochial' de Mendham p' decimis meis oblitis vj' viij^d. Itm, do et lego prepositis gardianis sive ironomis pochial' eccleie de Mendham ad fabricationem ejusd' eccleie et alia necessaria ibm faciend' p' discret' extor' meor' xl'. Itm, do et lego priori et conv' prioratus b' Marie de Mendham Deo ibm serviet' ad orand' p' aia mea et p' aiaas parent' ameor' et benefactor' meor' xl', viz. priori xij' iij^d, et resid' convent' equaliter distribuend'. Itm do priorisse et convent' monach' de Reddingfeld xl', viz. priorisse xij' iij^d et resid' convent' equal' dividend' ad orand' p' aia mea et p' aiaas parent' ameor' et benefactor' meor'. The testator also gives to the priory of the Holy trinity at Ipswich £3 6s. 8d.; to the prior 20s.; to the convent of Butte £3 6s. 8d.; to the convent of Leyston £3 6s. 8d.; to the convent of Sibton 10s.; to the abbot 13s. 1d.; to the monks of Thetford £3 6s. 8d.; to the prior 20s.; and to the prior and convent of Bokenham £3 6s. 8d. Add. ms. 8263.

An extract of, it is presumed, the same will, is given in Nicholas's *Testamenta vetusta*, p. 443; which supplies some further particulars: 'To my daughter Margaret Bohun, to her marriage, e marks. My sister, Alice Bohun. My daughter Agnes Cooks. John Bohun, *meus meos*, all my lands and tenements in Fressingfeld, to him and his heirs by paying annually to the prior of Eyn' fil' vi' viij^d; with remainder to Alice Colyns my daughter. I will that Nicholas Bohun have my lands in Mendham.'

* "In Dei noie, amen. vj' Sept' a' Dni 1195 et a' 11 H. vii. Ego Ricus Bohun de Fressingfeld compos [etc.] Condo test' meum in hunc modum. Inprimis, do et lego aiam [etc.] corpusq' meum ad sepeliend' in eccia pochial' beator' aplos' Petri et Pauli de Fressingfeld pdict'. Itm, do et lego summe altari ejusd' eccleie xj' viij^d. Itm, do et lego fabrice ejusd' eccleie x mare, disponend' scdm discrecionem extor' meor'. He proceeds to give, "eccleie p'dice unum campanam voc' *a sanctis bell* ponderant' el', fraternitati gilde se. Margarete de Fressingfeld p'dice vj' viij^d; ad hunc sepeliend' ibm vj' viij^d; eccleie de Stadbrook vj' viij^d; fribus August' et fribus abbas civitatis Norwie' cuilibet domui x; pauperibus ville de Fressingfeld p'dice iij'. Itm, do et lego pueris meis vocat' *gudehitharu* cuilibet eor' qui sunt sponsat' iij^d et qui non sunt sponsat' xij^d. Itm, do et lego Robto Bohun, fratri meo, meum optimam togam. Itm, do et lego Alicie Calver, servienti meo, xl ad maritagiū suum, si se bene gesserit et fuerit gubernat' pr' extor' meos quosq' nupt' fuerit an non. Itm, do et lego Agneti ux'i mee terciam partem omnium utensilium domus mee. Itm, do et lego Johi' et Nich' fil' meis residuum omnium utensilium domus mee inter eos equaliter dividend'. Residuumq' vero omni' bonor' et catallar' meor', debita et legata mea p'solut', do et lego p'fat' Johi' et Nicho filiis meis, ad inveniend' annu capellannu ydoneum celebrand' in eccia poch' de Fressingfeld p'dice p' salute aie mee, Agnetis ux' mee et antecessor' meor' p' un' annuū integrum; quos quidem Johem et Nichum ordino et constituo extores hujus presentis testi mei.

"Omnib' Xti fidelibus [etc.] saltem [etc.] Sciāt q' hec est ult' voluntas mei Ric' Bohune de Fressingfeld quam desidero et requiro fofatores meos implere. Inprimis, volo q' Agnes uxor mea beat' quamdam annualem pensionem iij' marcar' annuat' p'piciend' de oib' tris et tentis meis, tam lib' quam nat' in com' Norf' et Suff' durante vita sua." Subject to this provision for his wife, he declares that his meadow in Stradbroke shall remain to his sons John and Richard, their heirs and assigns; that his son John shall have the tithement and lands which the testator took under the will of John Bohun his father, and other lands in Fressingfeld; and that his son Nicholas shall have his close in 'Tycteshall' and also his lands in 'Pava Wetingham' in Norfolk which he had, jointly with Agnes his wife, of Sir Thomas Brew-kil, lord of the manor of Wettingham by court roll. Proved 6th December 1696. Reg. Multon, Norw. pt. 1, 269, 274; Harl. ms. 10, fo. 205, 206.

own children were in minority, sprang *Nicholas Bohun* of Fressingfield. His will, dated in 1501, furnishes a curious view of the provision made by a country gentleman, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, for the 'helth' of his soul, and for the benefit of his family and dependants, and the church.*

* This will is the registry of the bishop of Norwich, and was proved 17th January 1505, by John Tashburgh. "In Dei noie, amen. The viiith daye of Auguste in the yere of oure Lorde God mcccce



and iiii, the xixth yere of king Henry the viiith. I Nicholas Bohun of Fressingfeld in the countie of Suff. gentlman, hole of mynde and memorie, doe make my laste will and testament in this maner and forme. Eyaste, I bequethe my soule to almighty God, fathre of heven, oure ladie Sainte Mary, and to all the holy co'pany of heven, and my bodi to be buryed in the churche of sainte Peter of Fressingfeld, betwhe the fonte. Inpyrus, I geve and bequethe to the hye awtwer, for tithis forgotten, vi viiith. Also I gif and bequethe to the sepulture light vi viiith. Item, I bequethe viii m^{re} to have a secular prestre to singe for me and my frends be the space of an hole yere in the church of Fressingfeld. Item, I gif and bequethe x m^{re} to the churche of Fressingfeld for to lye with a jewell or a ornament such as is moste necessary to be had, be the advise of my executors and the substans of the parische. Also I beque the xxvi viiith to the churche of Brampton, for to lye with a vestment or a thinge that is moste necessary to be had in the saide churche. Item, I bequethe to the churche of Westhall xxvi viiith in like wise to be disposed. Also I bequethe to the churche of Mendham xxvi viiith in like wise to be disposed. Also I bequethe to the churche of Sainte Margaret of Tivetshale viii iiith to be disposed on suche thinge as is moste necessary, to the moste pleasure to God and to the helth of my soule. Also I bequethe to the Chympling church vi viiith to lye with a thinge that is moste necessary. Also I gifte and bequethe to Elizabeth my wife all my stuffe of houshold, as brasse, pewter, and bedding, excepte one cheste wth suche stuffe as is with inne folid the seide cheste, and that I will my executors have the keeping of the seide cheste, and to depute the seide stuffe betwene my children whan thei come to the age of xvii; and if thei all dye or thei all come to the seide age, than, if Elizabeth my wife live, I will that she have the seide cheste holy deliyd. Also I gifte and bequethe to Elizabeth my wife vi kombe of white and x kombe of malle and x kombe of olys, and for erbe of my children be yere xiii iiith till they come to the age of vii yere; than, if God geve the' life, I will my executors have reule of them for to sett the' to seole or to some seyens as thei thinke moste beste be there discrecion, at my coste and charge. Also I gifte and bequethe to Elizabeth my wife my best horse and vii korne of the beste she canne chose in my deyre with all othre necessaries in the howse. Item I gifte and bequethe to Alys Caliver my newe kene of the beste, next to chose, and vi m^{re} of mony, to be paide at these dayis following, at the day of her mariage xiii iiith and so forth yerly till the saide sum be full contente and paide. Also I gif and bequethe to Johanne Rogers, my swaite, a kowe and xi, to be paide at my yereday vi viiith and so forth yerly till the saide sum be full contente and paide. Also I gifte and bequethe to William Gilder, my swaite, iii iiith. Also I bequethe to John Caliver my godson x and my thirde gowne. Also I bequethe to Richard Holbek my godson vi viiith whan he comyth to the age of xvi yeres. Also to ev' y godchild that I have mo' xiith whan thei come to the saide age. Item I gifte and bequethe to Elizabeth my wife my tenement in Wottingham as well fre as bonde, with the appertenence to gif and to sell. Also I will that Elizabeth my wife have xiith in iii yere, to be paide be my executors. Also I will that Elizabeth my wife have the parlor with the chambre above, the south end of the malhouse be nethe the net howse for to lye in her stuffe for her bestys, the grasse yarde that is late payd in, a close callid the Forne close and the close callid Colys and a melowe callid the Dombil pit, wth fre ingoing and outgoeing into the saide howsys yards and cloyss for the terme of hir widowhod, paying therfor be yere for the rente iii iiith,

John Bohun, second son of Richard, and who died in 1511, was twice married, but does not appear to have left issue.*

also vi lodis of woode hewyn and carted at my proper coste and charge to the saide chumbre during the saide terme of her wedowhoole. Also I giffe to Elizabeth my wife, as longe as she is wedow, to have xl he yere, after this forme following, that is to say, of my lands and tenements in Brampton xxvi viiii, and of my tenement called *Lovers* wth th^e poutennes in Thorpawe hamlett in Mendham xiii iiii, to be paide ev^y q^{tr} x of bothe the tenements during the saide terme, or ellis I will that she di-trayne upon the saide lands and tenements, and pounde where as she will, and to witholde the dystresse till she is contente as well the costs as dwtye. Also I giffe and bequethe to Edmunde my son my tounet called *Derisham* in Brampton, with all the lands rents and s^{er}vices therto belonging in Chanyngfeld and Stowyn, to entyr at the age of xvii. Also I geve and bequethe to John my son my tounet *Lovers*, Gomis, and Betwritis therto belonging in Thorpawe the hamplat of Mendham, whan he comyth to the full age of xvii yere. Also I geve and bequeth to Nicholas my son the tenemet *Thordys* withe all the lands therto belonging in Mendham, in Wedersdale, and a close in Helmecham called *Cokfeld* close purchasid of John Tasburgh; he shall have it whanne he comyth to the full age of xvii. P^{ro}vided alwey that if the saide John Tasburgh pchase moche londe to the value of the saide close called *Cokfeld* close and leve it to the saide Nicholas whan he comyth to the saide age of xvii, then I will the saide John Tasburgh have the saide close to hym and to his heires according to the covenant betwene us made. Also I geve and bequeth to William my sone all my lands and tenements in Teveti-hale, Delkilborogh, Stratton, and Chyngmyng, and my ferme, that I have of the monastery of Eye, in Fressingfeld, during the terme of my inditure whan he cometh to the full age of xvii. And if so be that God fortune that cythre of them dye, that is to say, Edmunde, John, Nicholas, and William, or thri come to the forsaide age, then I will thri be sett upwarde in others parte and the younger's pte to be deyd among them be discrecion of my executors. And God fortune thri dye all, than I will all these lands and tenements, rents and s^{er}vices be sold be my executors and be disposid, the one half at the chyrche of Fressingfeld on such jewell and mees any thing as the pische thinke moste necessary, the residue to be disposid at the chyrche before rehersed after the quantite of the londe lying withe inn the saide pisches. Also I geve and bequeth to Edmunde my son *Hanley* close and othre lands and tenements sumtyne *Kelyatts* whan he comyth to the age of xxx yere. And if the saide Edmunde dye, than to John, and so forth to othre of them, and thanne I will that it be disposid as all my othre lands afore rehersed. Also I bequeth to *Isabel* my dought^r xl m^{er} if so be that she be maryd be the advyce of my executors, if not I will she have lxx m^{er}. Also I bequeth to John my sone and to his heires of his bodi lawfully begoten, and for faulte of heires of hym, thanne to Nicholas and William, and so to Edmunde, my pte of the man^r called *Jenets* in Goshok and othre townys therto adjoynnyng, whan the laste will of Edmunde Bohun my unckil be p^{er}formed and fulfilled. Also I desire all my feesies, in the revence of God and of ther charite, to delay^e all ther power in my lands whanne they are required be my executors. Also I d^epute and ordeigne John Tasburgh of Fressingfeld and John Depden of Branton to be my executors, wherof I bequeth to them for labor vi^l. The residue of all my goods unboquethid I put to the disposicion of my executors. In witness whereof to this my laste will I sett to my seale."

* His will was proved in the court of the bishop of Norwich, 9th August, 1511. "In Dei note, an^o xxviii die mens^{is} Aplis anno Dni millimo quing^{to} xim^o. I, John Bohun of Fressingfeld, hol of mynd and memory, make my testament and last will in man^r & forme following. First I bequeth my soul to almighty God father of heven and to o^r lady saint Mary and to al holy copany of heven, and my body to be buried in the pishe church of Fressingfeld by Margaret late my wife. Ist I giffe and bequeth to the high awtier of the same church for my tythes negligently paid x^l. The testator then gives as follows: "to the brodrhode of Saint Margett gild xx and a salt of silv^r wth a cov^r; to the newe bilding of an ile on the north side of the chancel x mark; to the building of Saint Margarett's chapel xx mark; to the saide chapel of saint Margaret a pair of chalyss and a peax of silv^r and gilt; to the repacons of the church of Mendham x; to the church of Wedersdale vi viiii;

His brother Nicholas was succeeded by a second *Nicholas Bohun*, who settled at Chelmondiston on the southern border of Suffolk. He wedded Margaret daughter of

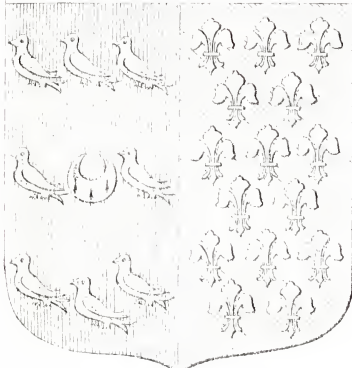
to the repacons of the church of Gosbak v; to the repacons of the church of Rushmere xiii liii^s, to evy of my godchildren vi viii^s, that ys to say, Edmund Colyns, John Coke, John Usher Wade, . . . John Bohun, Nicholas Bohun, Robert Godbold, and . . . Meryng; to Stephen Palmer, my servnt, a fetterbed, a bolster, a pair of blankets, a pair of shets, a covlyght, my blak amblyng horse and xx in money; to Anne Tod, my servnt, a bede in the chambre ovr the hal wth al stuff thereto belonging lyk as ys now, a brasse pot, a ketyl, a new brasse panne, vi platts of pewt^r, vi dishes, and vi saucers of pewt^r, a spete, iiii kyne, and xl in money; to Yvnce Carre, my servnt, my forehorse; to Cecyly, my servnt, iiii liii^s; to the church of Fressingfeld a sute of vestements of white damaske p^{ee} xx^{li} for the fests of o^r lady; to Elizabeth my wite the third parte of my stuffe of my house; to Thomas Hal my brod^r in lawe, and to Ursula Hal my sist^r in lawe, ech of them v marke, upon condicon that the said Elizabeth nor none other in her name shal trohyl nor vex my executors, and yf they do, then I wol that the said Elizabeth, Thom Hal, and Ursula and evy of them lose ther legaes and bequests byfore rehersed. The residew of al my goods and catalls I put in the disposicion of my ii executors therwith to performe this my p^{re}snt testament, whom I depute and orden John Eward of Cratfield and Simon Toppesfeld, giving ich of them for ther labour v mark. Itm I depute & orden Dunt John Bidings, p^{ro} of Eye, supviser of this my testament and last wil, giving and bequeching to him for his labour v mark.

"This ys the last wil of me the said John Bohun made the day and yere a bove rehersyd. First, I wol that Elizabeth my wif have al my lands and tenements callyd Jonetts, Moyes and Carlows, lying in Gosbake, Bokkyng, Ashe, and Hchyngham, w^{ith} the countye of Suff^r for terme of her lyf; and aft^r the decease of the said Elizabeth I wol that al y^e said lands shal remain to John Bohun my neve and godson, yf he be then a lyve, and yf he be deceased then I wol that Nicholas Bohun my neve have al the said lands, to hold to him his heirs and assigneys. Itm I wol that al my lands and tents callyd Henede's and Norman's, lying in Rushmere and other towns therto adionyng, remaine in my executors' hands, under this condicon, that they pay or cause to be paid to the p^{ro} and convent of the holy Triyte of Ippeswich evy yere v mark duryng the terme of 1 yers next followyng, according to y^e last wil and testament of Edmund Bohun late of Fressingfeld, and to pay therwith my dettes, legatts and bequests. And after that the said 1 yers byn expyrd I wol that al the said lands and tents be sowld and the money thereof conyng to be disposed in mending of hy waye and othe^r charytable doos for the welth of my sowl & my frends. Itm, I wol that Anne Tode, my servnt, have my tenement callyd Cartus w^{ith} a croft therto lying, ii smal meadows lying by both, and ii smal piggtills abutting upon Ashby waye, the which Henry Sawyer now hath in ferme, to have to her and her assigneys for ev^{er}. Itm I wol that al my lands tents . . . lying in Fressingfeld, Mendlm, and Wedersdale remain in my executors' hands the terme of xx yere next after my decease, under this condicon, that they find a honest p^{re}st to sing in the church of Fressingfeld by the space of xx yers and pray for my sowl & my frends', and to pay to the p^{ro} and convent off Eye v marks by yere duryng the terme of 1 yers according to the last wil of Edmund Bohun late of Fressingfeld forsayd. And after that terme of xx yers I wol that al the said lands & tents be sowld by my executors, and yf John Bohun or Nicholas Bohun my nevys by of abilitie and power to by them, then I wol that they or any of them have the p^{re}sentment of the bargan & xx^{li} w^{ith} the p^{re}ce; and yf that they be not of abilitie to by them the' I wol the said lands and tents be sowld to the most advantage to colout and pay to the p^{ro} and convent of Eye yerly v mark duryng the yers aforsaid, & the remenit of the money ther of conyng to be disposed in repacon of the church of Fressingfeld and mending of hy wayse by the discrecon of my executors. Itm, I require al my feoffeys that stand feoffed in all my sayd lands & tenements above rehersed, in the name of God and in the way of charytie, to delaye a state of and in al the sayd lands and tents according to this my last wil and none otherwise."

The will of this John Bohun and other wills previously noticed furnish instances of the severance of those two branches of the testamentary document which related respectively to the personal and real property and of the disposal of the latter through the intervention of feoffees to uses. On this subject, and

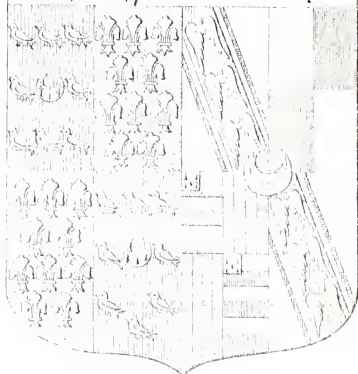
I

John Bony Alice his daughter
and sole heiress of Robert
daunger of the Hundred of
the Hundred of the Hundred of



II

Margaret the Countess of Meulan
Bony and Margaret one of the
daughters of John Bony the
Countess of Meulan Bony the



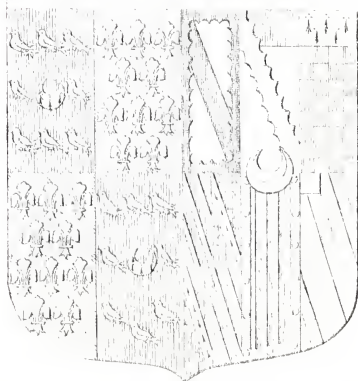
III

Sir John Bony and Alice his daughter
and sole heiress of Robert
daunger of the Hundred of
the Hundred of the Hundred of



IV

Francis Bony and Elizabeth one of the
daughters of Francis Bony and
Elizabeth one of the daughters
of Francis Bony and Elizabeth



Sir John Wingfield knt. of Dunham, in Norfolk; * and in 1535, acquired from Sir Anthony Wingfield, the manor of Westhall Bacon's † near Halesworth in Suffolk; to which he added, also by purchase, the manor of Westhall Empoll's. ‡

Both these lordships passed to his son *Francis Bohun*. He married Elizabeth daughter of Edmund Knyvett of Ashwelthorpe in Norfolk, serjeant porter to king Henry the eighth, and of Jane sole heiress of John Bourchier lord Berners. In the fifth year of queen Elizabeth, Mr. Francis Bohun purchased, of Thomas Barrington esq., the manor distinguished as Westhall Barrington's, of which the two lordships before mentioned were holden, and which was itself subject to the seignory of the hundred of Blything. § Settling upon the estate thus collected, Mr. Bohun, after a few years, built Westhall hall, which continued to be the abode of his descendants for several generations. ||

Nicholas eldest son of Francis Bohun married Audrey, ¶ daughter of Robert Coke esq.

on the methods, at the period in question, of proving and authenticating wills, and as to the destination of the originals, there is an interesting paper in the 'Archæological journal,' vol. viii, p. 397.

* Sir John Wingfield of Dunham was the fourth of the twelve sons of Sir John Wingfield of Letheringham knt., and of Elizabeth (Fitz-Lewis) his wife; brother of Lewis Wingfield, from whom descended the viscounts Powerscourt, and of Sir Richard Wingfield of Kimbolton who married Katherine sister of Elizabeth queen consort of Edward iv and aunt of Elizabeth queen consort of Henry vii. His son Thomas Wingfield esq. married a daughter of Sir Thomas Woodhouse of Kimberley; and Alice Wingfield, sister of Margaret Bohun, became the wife of John Calybut esq. of Castlecre, in Norfolk. See 'The Visitation of the county of Huntingdon,' (Cam. Soc.) p. 129; Harl. mss. 1179, fo. 121, 1552, fo. 29^b, 190. Blom. Norf. viii, 362.

† Add. ms. 8173, fo. 135^b. The first court of Nicholas Bohun esq., William Brampton esq., William Duke esq., John Calcut esq., Anthony Gryll esq., and John Duke, gentleman, for the manor of Westhall Bacon's, was held on Thursday next before the feast of St. George the martyr, 26 Hen. viii.

‡ Add. ms. 8173, fo. 135^b. In 1555 or 1556 Nicholas Bohun accounted to the collector of the rents of the late chantries in Suffolk, for "vij^d de annuli redd' exenr' de vij^m aer' tre in Westhall, dudum assignat' ad invenient' Empoll' ardent' in ecclia ibn, solut' ad festum annue be' Marie virg' et sci Mich' archi equal' p' ann'." Ib. fo. 131.
§ Add. ms. 8173, fo. 133, 135.

|| A dim tradition assigns as the seat of an old hall a piece of land called 'the meat-yards,' in the valley south of the present house, and where, at the bottom of a ditch, was found, a few years since, the architectural fragment represented in the margin.

¶ This lady in her widowhood married Edmund Knyvett of Sotherton, who died in October 1623 and is described in the burial register of that parish as 'that worthie and wor-hippfull gentleman, Edmund Knyvett esquire, a man truelie religious, witnessing the same in verie manie charitable actiones.' The same record mentions the interment of 'the right wor-hipfull Mrs. Knyvett,' 16th November 1630.



of Mileham, Norfolk, and youngest of the seven sisters of the eminent Sir Edward Coke; but died in his father's life time. On that event, the latter gentleman placed in Westhall church * a plain mural tablet of brass, whereon his descent from royalty is narrated.†

* The parish church of Westhall, dedicated to St. Andrew, is an enlargement of the more elegant chapel of St. Mary which forms its south aisle. The original entrances of this chapel are enriched with Norman mouldings; and over the western doorway now covered by a heavy steeple of flint, are three smaller blank arches in the same style. Both entrances have been figured by Mr. Henry Davy, a native of Westhall, in his 'Architectural antiquities of Suffolk.' A portion of the chapel, at the east end, separated by a screen of comparatively modern tracery, was appropriated to the use of the possessors of Westhall hall. It is referred to by our autobiographer in a note, inserted by him in an old parish account book, that 'Edmund Bohun is not chargeable to the repayer of the church, because he maintains the Isle in which he resides.' His stall of imperishable oak with its bold poppy head, remains; but the window whose light fell directly upon it, has been bricked up within a few years, — a dark expedient for settling the question of liability to its repair!



In the nave of the church are some panels of the rood-screen, on which are represented the transfiguration of our Saviour and thirteen effigies of apostles, saints, and martyrs. A handsome, though mutilated, octagonal font is sculptured and painted with representations of the seven sacraments of the Romish church, the eighth compartment being occupied

with a scene apparently designed to illustrate the practice of 'confession.'

† The brass is attached to the south wall of St. Mary's chapel, immediately above an altar-tomb in a poor style and probably of the same period. The tomb has no legible inscription, and having been first ruthlessly mutilated, has since been saved with numerous coatings of lime and yellow ochre.

The legend on the brass, down to the alliance with Audrey Coke, is nearly a copy of 'Mr. Bohun his pettygree' in Add. ms. 8173, fo. 137*, omitting the words which are here printed in brackets, and others of less importance. This inscription serves to identify Nicholas son of Francis Bohun, and to whom the pedigree is brought down by Vincent in his Collections, No. 144, fo. 55*, as the individual who married Audrey Coke.

* Thomas Plantagenet, duke of Beekingham & Gloucester, son of king Edward the third, married Eliomer, eldest daughter and heiress of Hymtry Bohun, earl of Hertford, Essex, and Northampton, high constable of England, whose grandmother was a daughter of king Edward the first. — the said Thomas and Eliomer had issue a daughter, named Anne, sole heiress. She was first married to 3rd earl of Stafford of whom descended the late dukes of Beekingham & the lord Stafford that now is. secondly, she was married unto St. William Boyvrehier earl of Ewe, by whom she had issue Henry, Wilhm, John, and Thomas. Thomas became a priest and was archbishop of Canterbury [the seconde person in the realm in those dayes]: of Henry descended the late earles of Essex & others. of William is descended the earle of Bathe that now is [their male, and therefore beareth the name of Boyvrehier still, a name of greatesse honour and reputation]. The afore named John married the daughter and heiress of the lord Barners, and [was, in her right, lord Barners:] they had issue St. Hymphry Boyvrehier, who married Elizabeth, daughter and sole heiress of St. Fredericke Tylnay; and they had issue John Boyvrehier. And the said Hymphry died in the life of his father, and therefore lived not to be lord Barners. [The said Elizabeth was afterwards married to St. Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, that wonne the Scottish field wherein the king of Scotts was slain; and they had issue St. Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, that dyed of his



The Transfiguration: Screen, Westhall Church



Confession : *Font, Westhall Church.*



is death was followed by a period of wardship, during which the estate remained under the care of Edmund Knyvett esq.*

Edmund Bohun, grandson of Francis, held his first court 11th June 1622, when he was thirty years of age. By his marriage with Dorothy, daughter of Stephen Baxter of Mendham,† he acquired the manor and estate of Dale hall, in Whitton with Thurleston near Ipswich.

fyre denthe in the tyme of queen Mary.] & the sayd John Boycher lord Barners, after the death of his grandfather married Katherine dayghter of St John Haward dyke of Norfolk [father of the said St Thomas Howard that won the Scottish felde]; and the said lord Barners and Katherine had issue a dayghter named Jane, their sole heire; she was married to Edmvd Knyvit sergeant porter of the howse of kinge Henry the eight; and they had issue divers sonnes and daughters, wherof one was married unto Francis Bohyn esquire; and they had issue Nicholas Bohyn that married Audrie [the daughter of Robert] Cooke [a lawyer] sister to St Edward Cooke attorneye generall to kinge James; and the said Nicholas died in the life of his father, leavinge behinde him, begotten of the bodie of the saide Audrie, seaven children all infants. Novemb. 16. 1602.†

* Francis Bohun's will was made 13th March 1605, after the death of his son Nicholas, and was proved in the court of the bi-shop of Norwich, by Edmund Knyvett of Morley in Norfolk esquire, the sole executor. After disposing of certain copyhold tenements at Littleport in the Isle of Ely in favour of his grandson Humphry, second son of Nicholas Bohun, for life, with remainder to Edmund, the eldest son, in fee tail, the testator devises his Westhall manors and estates, with various rent charges, and a marsh in Worlingham, to his executor Edmund Knyvett, until Michaelmas 1612, towards the advancement of such daughters of Nicholas as should not be married in the testator's life time; and then to his grandson Edmund Bohun, in fee tail, subject to the jointure of such woman as he should marry by the consente and advise of foure of the nere allies of the sayd Edmund, eyve of them, at the tyme of such their advise and consente, being seased of an estate of freehold in their owne righte to the clere yearly value of three hundred markes at the leaste. The testator also gives to his grandson Edmund his 'twoe greate sisternes of leade, th' one in the backhouse or malthouse, the other in the yard without the malthouse; one copp' panne hanged there, and alsoe a copp' panne with a . . . of leade set upon a furnace in the kitchen chimney; alsoe one litle sisterne of leade in the wett larder, and alsoe one litle sisterne of leade in the sellar or buttry there; alsoe one tester of a bold of crim-on taffeta striped with gold threds, and the silke curtaines thereto belonginge'; also the 'best featherbed with a bouldar and twoe pillowes, a payer of blanketts, a covlett of tapistry, his 'greatest brasse pott and twoe -pitts.' In connexion with this motley disposition of household stuff may be noticed the will of Thomas Wingfield, founder of a charity in Bungay, dated 1593, and which contains the following bequests: 'I give to Mr. Bohun of Westhall, and to his son Nicholas after him, my great counter to stand in his hall forever. I give also to the said Mr. Bohun, the elder, four old angels, to be paid within one year; and if he dies before he shall receive the same, then I will his said son shall have it.'

† The connexion between the Baxters of Mendham and of Ipswich is involved in some obscurity. That there was such a connexion is evident from the description of Dorothy Bohun in the recorded pedigrees compared with the devolution of the Dale hall estate mentioned at p. 91. Stephen Baxter of Mendham, who died in 1634, married Cecilia, daughter of Thomas Blose of Ipswich, whose sister was mother of Tobias Frere a noted member of the Barebones parliament. And a Stephen Baxter, described as of Harleston, in 1582 married Dorothy daughter of Francis Coppelidike of Bungate, gentleman. It may be added here that it is doubtful whether the date attached in the note at p. 91, to the name of Stephen Baxter, as the date of his death, properly refers to that event.



The last mentioned Edmund* died in November 1658,† having survived his son *Buckler Bohun*. The latter married into the family of Lawrence of Brockdish, which, at an earlier period, had quartered the arms of Bohun, through an alliance with a daughter of Aslack Lany.

* A writ of privy seal, dated 28th November 1 Charles I, is outstanding, under which the king required and received of this Edmund Bohun a loan of ten pounds. This specimen of the contrivance for raising 'compulsory loans' varies from the privy seal, of the previous reign, published by Richard Ward esp. of Sudhouse hall, in 'Norfolk Archaeology,' vol. i, p. 128, and which is also inserted in Burke's 'Commoners,' vol. iv, p. 19. In the original privy seal addressed to Mr. Bohun, the words here printed in italic are in manuscript.

By the king. Trustie and welbelovyd, We greet you well. Having observed in the precedents and customes of former times that the kings and queenes of this our realme, vpon extraordinary occasions, have vsed either to resort to those contributions which arise from the generality of subjects, or to the private helps of some well-affectd in particular by way of loane; in the former of which courses as we have no doubt of the love and affection of our people when they shall againe assemble in parliament, so for the present, we are enforced to proceede in the latter course for supply of some portion of treasure for divers publique services, which without manifold inconveniences to us and our kingdom cannot be deferred; and therefore, this being the first time that we have required anything in this kind, we doubt not but that we shall receive such a testimony of good affection from you (amongst other of our subjects) and that with such alacrity and readines as may make the same to much the more acceptable; especially seeing we require but that of some which few men would deny a friend, and true a minde resolved to expose all our earthly fortune for preservation of the generall. The summe which we require of you by vertue of these presents is *Ten pounds*, which we doe promise, in the name of vs our heires and successours, to repay to you or your assignes within eightene monthes after the payment thereof unto the collector. The person that we have appointed to collect is *St. Henry Glenham, or St. Wilfrid Pooley knights*, to whose hands we doe require you to send it within twelve dayes after you have received this privy seale, which together with the collector's acquittance, shal be sufficient warrant unto the officers of our receipt for the repayment thereof at the time limited. Given vnder our privy seale at *Hampton Court the eight & twentieth day of November* in the first yeare of our aigne of England Scotland, France, and Ireland, 1625. PA. MYLLES.

To our trustie and welbelovyd *Edmund Bohun of Westhall, gent.*

To be paid at *Surreymouth* unto *St. Henry Glenham kt.* the *xvth* of *January* next, *h. 1* of the *char* in the *morning*, at the *signe of the Garland*.

Received, the *xvth* of *January* 1625, the above said summe of *Ten pounds*, by me, *Henry Glenham*.

Sir Henry Glenham knt., of Little Glenham, was member of parliament for Suffolk in 1601, for Ipswich in 1603, and for Aldeburgh in 1611 and 1620. He died in 1632. Sir William Pooley knt., of Boxstead, in Suffolk, was member of parliament for Sudbury in 1623 and 1628; and died in 1629.

† His will, dated 20th October 1658, was proved by his son Edmund, the sole executor, in the court of the archdeacon of Suffolk. The testator gives to Dorothy his wife his 'basen and ewer of silver,' and the furniture in his lodging chamber at Westhall; and, besides legacies to his daughter Jane and Sherris, and £150 to Edmund, which was in his hands for the testator's 'stocke,' which the son had bought, he gives small legacies to his two servants and his 'some's three mayde servants'; £5 to the poor of Westhall and £5 to the poor of Hampton. His widow, Dorothy Bohun, by her will dated 25th December 1660, and proved in the archdeaconry court of Suffolk, gives to her daughter Dorothea Jane £50 'in gould'; to her son Edmund her 'cotch and all the furniture thereunto belonging'; and to the poor of Westhall, forty shillings.

Baxter Bohun* left an only son, a lad of fourteen, and who, in the same year, inherited, subject to his mother's claims,† the family mansion and estates.—To him the remainder of this sketch will be devoted.

EDMUND BOHUN, our autobiographer, was born on the 12th of March 1611-5, at Ringfield, near Beccles. After his father's death, or his mother's second marriage, he was placed under the care of his great uncle Humphry Bohun of Sotherclon. By his own account his early religious and political training were in a direction the reverse of that to which he was afterwards decidedly inclined. Writing toward the close of the reign of Charles the second, he says, 'I was bred a dissenter from the religion now established in the church of England, a great admirer of parliaments; and taught betimes to fear monarchy and arbitrary government.'‡

He was admitted a fellow-commoner of Queen's college Cambridge on the 13th of July 1663, and remained there about three years. He took no degree; but there is an explanation of the fact which redeems his talent and industry from suspicion on

* His name is attached to the following line, 'de morte,' which appears as a motto at the beginning of the *Widow's Remedy*.

† *Ille caput juvenis prima florebat juvenia*

Non obliit caput sed tamen illa senex.

‡ *Una tamen pœnet quæ me solatur in ætis,*

Hæc tunc morte mea non disturna mala.

† The Lady held her first court 11th June 1659, as guardian of Edmund Bohun esq., only son of Peter Bohun, and, in the following year Thomas Tillet, gentleman, appears as lord, in right of Margaret his wife, relict of Baxter Bohun.

‡ Adverting to the indulgence given to 'diversity of religions' immediately after the restoration, he observes, 'I was then a child, and did not make those observations that I have since, yet I remember this happened in a place where I then lived. There were two churches in that town: the church of England party had one and the dissenters had the other, by agreement. But presently after, they, repenting, got the key of the other church, on a Sunday morning, and would not have permitted the church party to have had any service at all; which might have ended ill enough, if some gentlemen of good prudence had not interposed, and by their authority taught these meek dissenters more modesty.' 'Address to the freemen,' pt. i, p. 14.

The above passage, referring, it may be, to the 'church of England conventicle' which, according to the biographer of Dr. John North, was kept at Bury St. Edmund's by Dr. Boldron, as well as the political bias which young Bohun received, and his acquaintance with the Norths and others,—raises a suspicion that he was placed at King Edward's school in that town, an institution distinguished, at the period in question, by the brilliant roll of its scholars and the 'cravadin dip' of the master. The absence of Edmund Bohun's name from the lists given in Dr. Donaldson's interesting 'Retrospective address' printed in 1850, (pp. 37, 48,) is accounted for by the fact that those lists do not extend to the period in which it is most likely our diarist may have formed one of the 'scarlet troop.'

that account: towards the end of 1666, 'he was driven out of that university, by the plague that raged there, to his great hindrance in learning.' *

The young heir of Westhall married, in 1669, Mary, daughter of William Brampton of Pulliam St. Mary Magdalene, in Norfolk.† In the following year Mr. Bohun went to reside on his estate.

Westhall hall, situated a mile eastward from the parish church, was a substantial mansion of red brick, placed upon one of those moderate but pleasant elevations

which abound in Suffolk. Flanked by four octagonal towers, which served for entrances and staircases, the building was adapted for internal convenience, rather than architectural effect.‡ Yet

the heaviness of its general appearance was somewhat relieved by Tudor archways;

* Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* ed. Bliss, iii, 217. The notice of Edmund Bohun, inserted by Wood, incidentally in the account of Degory Wheare, bears strong marks of having been supplied by Bohun himself.

† Blomfield, the Norfolk historian, states that Pulliam market hall, 'a good old house, enclosed with a high wall of brick embattled, was formerly the mansion house of the Percies, a younger branch of the Northumberland family.' And he surmises that one of the female members of that family was married to a Brampton; 'for this estate was owned by William Brampton, a strenuous man on the king's side, in Kett's rebellion; by whom a great part of the present building was erected; and it continued in that family till a William Brampton sold it to Philip Rosier,' whose son died there in 1743. *Hist. Norf.* v, 401.

‡ Early in the present century one half of the quadrangle was demolished, and the remaining portion reduced to the comparatively ignoble state of a respectable farm house. But enough exists to show the original character of the building. The date of erection and initials of the founder are preserved outside. Over the south western entrance, now bricked up, and which, with the south eastern tower, is represented above, are the separate arms of his family in burnt clay (see above, p. vii), as well as shields on which are impaled the coats of Wingfield and Knyvett. There is an etching of the house by Mr. Henry Dave



by numerous thickly mullioned windows; and by two lofty stacks of crocketted chimneys, which rise up to vindicate the picturesque taste and bespeak the blazing hearths of the olden time.

Very pleasant is the position of the country gentleman who finds himself, in the summer of life, monarch of one of 'the homes of England.' He is attached, perchance, to the dwelling of his fathers, by associations such as are planted in the heart of childhood; looks abroad upon his well-tilled acres, sunny meadows, and rich woodland; delights in simple, rural pleasures; is indulged with personal health, surrounded by domestic comforts, tended by watchfulness and fidelity; is the protector and benefactor of the poor, the companion of the rich, the honourable, and the refined, the dispenser of justice to all. Assume, further, that his mind has been well cultivated and stored, that he can find never failing friends in books, that he is dignified by moral worth and graced with the humbling wisdom that 'cometh from above,'—it is a lot which princes might envy. And such, in nearly all these circumstances, was the lot of Edmund Bohun.

But, in this degenerate world, it is a scanty border which divides happiness from disquietude. Born to a competent though limited patrimony, Mr. Bohun found that, with imperfect management, it was unequal to his wants; and he had, through life, to struggle with pecuniary difficulties. Endowed with intellectual taste, possessing acquirements solid and extensive, and entitled by birth and position to associate with the leading families around him, he was frank, communicative, and sincerely anxious to be useful. But he gave offence by the tenacity with which he held his opinions, and by his freedom and copiousness in propounding them. Naturally earnest and energetic, he constantly became the victim of his own anger and indiscretion. Early admitted to a seat on the magisterial bench, and by no means regardless of its responsibilities, strictly attached to the protestant church of England, and loyal in the extreme of loyalty, he was an object of jealousy and dislike to his more opulent, democratic, or moderate fellow justices, and of terror to the nonconformist, popish or protestant. Besides all this, though his intellect was such as to invite attention, his personal aspect was probably not commanding; he laboured under the infirmity of deafness with its consequent evils of misunderstanding and being misunderstood; and his spirit had a tinge of melancholy: it is not difficult to conceive that he would become increasingly devoted to his books and to his pen.

Mr. Bohun resided at Westhall fourteen years, observant of passing events, but conversing 'more with ancient than modern books.' His diary shows the bent of his taste and the character of his pursuits.* Its testimony is confirmed by a clergyman named John Pitts,† who says, 'He was a most indefatigable student; had read over all the Greek, Latin, and ecclesiastical historians, with all our English historians, ancient and modern; and many others of foreign nations, as French, Spanish, German, etc.; the whole body of our statutes; and was master of the French and Italian tongues.' If this statement be not exaggerated, it must be acknowledged that Mr. Bohun did not venture on the field of authorship without equipment.

In the year 1684 the hope of some public employment and other circumstances induced him to remove to London, where, devoting himself to literature as a profession, he continued to reside during the short reign of James the second, and through the greatest and happiest revolution this country has ever known.

* Connected with his magisterial duties was the office of 'treasurer of the maimed soldiers,' mentioned further on, pp. 64, 79. In that capacity he had the distributing, among pensioners and 'travellers,' of a fund averaging something less than £15 a year, collected by the chief constables of Blything, and Mutford and Lothingland hundreds, and paid over to him at each quarter session. His account of disbursements includes such items as the following:

| | | | £ | s. | d |
|---------|----------|---|----|----|-----|
| ' 1678. | Aug. 6. | Item, to Steward, the famous discoverer of thieves | 00 | 02 | 00 |
| 1679. | Apr. 10. | Item, to 3 souldiers, by pass from Montagu y ^e Eng. adia. in F. | 00 | 04 | 00 |
| | Oct. 29. | Item, to y ^e redemption of a slave in Turkey | 00 | 05 | 00 |
| 1680. | | My journey to London about the workhouse in Bleeceles | 10 | 11 | 06 |
| | Nov. 14. | Item, to one gentleman traveller | 00 | 05 | 00 |
| 1681. | Jan. 20. | To two Grecian priests | 00 | 04 | 00 |
| | June 13. | Item, to a minister's wife and two children, in great and known distress | 00 | 05 | 00 |
| 1682. | Jan. 11. | Item, to one poore traveller certified by 10 justices of the peace in this county | 00 | 02 | 06 |
| | Mar. 5. | Item, to a burning | 00 | 02 | 06 |
| 1683. | Apr. 27. | To a Hungarian | 00 | 01 | 00 |
| | June 4. | To a poore clergyman | 00 | 05 | 00 |
| 1684. | Jan. 10. | Item, for making a pass for a rogue who came with a false one | 00 | 01 | 00' |

† He states that he 'lived with' Mr. Bohun 'at his seat in Westhall.' The register of that parish records the burial of Susan, daughter of John Pitts clerk and Susan his wife, 17th March 1681. The same clergyman appears to have been several years vicar of Hilton near Blandford Forum, in Dorsetshire, where the baptisms of five of his children, from 1692 to 1702 inclusive, are recorded. Blomefield, the Norfolk historian, mentions a stone in St. Peter's Mancroft church, Norwich, to the memory of John Pitts who died 1728, aged 73, and of Susan his wife, who died 1689. Hist. Norfolk, i, 115.

Mr. Bohun was the author, compiler, editor, or translator of many books. Several of them, for obvious reasons, appeared without his name. But his ingenuousness, his too acrimonious style, and other peculiarities always betrayed him. The mask was painted with his own true effigy, and he could not refrain from speaking behind it in his natural tone.

The last remark applies chiefly to his tracts on constitutional and political topics. These were strongly tinged with party feeling. Dreading a renewal of the broils and miseries of the unsettled period in which he was born, he took refuge in the doctrines of the divine origin of kingly authority, indefeasible hereditary monarchy, and what Anthony Wood styles 'the most primitive and christian doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance.' In all the exposure of arbitrary men and measures, which was emanating from the press year by year, he saw only 'party per pale, a justification of the last, and an exhortation to another rebellion.'* He was the champion of Filmer and the bitter opponent of Sidney.

The preservation of the protestant church of England he judged to be of paramount importance. Romanism he regarded as 'destructive to the interest, honour, sovereignty, and wealth of the English nation.' 'As for popery,' he observes, 'I have so great an aversion for it that I never willingly conversed with one of that religion; and if God permits me to choose my company, I never will.'† Scarcely less intense was his dislike to protestant dissent. Expostulating warmly with the 'Roman catholics, as they will needs be called,' who would 'ruin this most excellent, apostolical, and primitive church, or force her back to the state of corruption,' and flattering himself—who does not?—that he has alighted on the true middle path, he turns toward those who separate 'upon direct contrary pretences. Why, 'tis our antiquity, our decency,' he exclaims, 'our too great resemblance to the church of Rome that offends them. We are not sufficiently purged for these *pure* men to joyn with. We have too little of the primitive church, cryes the one: too few ceremonies, too much simplicity, say the papists: too many of the first, too little of the latter, cry the dissenters. Thus was truth ever persecuted on both sides, Christ crucified betwixt two thieves, the primitive church persecuted by the pagans on one side and the Jews on the other. I venerate thy truth and moderation, O dear and holy mother, who dost so exactly resemble thy

* 'Reflections on A just and modest vindication,' etc. p. 123. † 'Address to the freemen,' pt. i, p. 3.

God and Saviour and the primitive church, both in thy truth and piety, and in thy sufferings too, which are thy glory !' *

Pamphlets bearing mainly upon passing events, and announcing, in no measured language, political opinions which in the next age became peculiarly unpopular, could not be expected to survive the period which gave rise to them. They passed into the same comparative forgetfulness which has entombed the works of a host of learned and talented writers holding similar views.

The literary engagements upon which Mr. Bohun afterwards entered, as a source of emolument, were of a less exciting and more general character. His 'Geographical dictionary,' the edition of Heylyn's 'Cosmography,' and the 'Great historical dictionary,' to which last he was an important contributor, although long ago superseded by more modern books of reference, were works of labour and research, and very useful in their day.

It was in the department of history that Mr. Bohun chiefly delighted, and in which he did that service to literature which preserves his name as a respectable though not a brilliant writer. We may not challenge for him a niche among classic authors; but he is justly entitled to rank with those who are described by Brunet as having, in a more humble grade, applied their talents to particular branches of history and learning, with zeal, industry, and success.†

His best productions are his translation and continuation of Sleidan's 'History of the reformation,' and 'The history of the desertion' of the throne by James the second. Time and circumstances had toned down the fervour of his political feelings and, perhaps, modified, in some measure, his opinions too. To be the editor of Sleidan he was qualified by his extensive historical reading and sound learning, as well as by his earnest attachment to the cause of protestantism; and he executed the task with impartiality and with commendable adherence to the 'truly great simplicity' which he mentions as the 'distinguishing characteristic' of that work. 'The history of the

* Preface to the Life of Jewel, in Wordsworth's 'Ecclesiastical Biography,' iv, 11. † There is a note made by Mr. Bohun in the Westhall parish register, in 1675, to the effect that, on enquiry made by order of the archbishop of Canterbury, there were found in that parish a hundred and forty three communicants, not one papist, and only three women who neglected the communion of the church.

‡ 'Ceux qui, sans avoir le même titre que ces illustres savants à la reconnaissance publique, ont cependant traité avec succès des sujets spéciaux et d'un véritable intérêt pour les sciences, ou d'une certaine utilité pour les études philologiques et historiques.' 'Manuel du libraire,' introd.

desertion,' was published anonymously, but is justly quoted with respect, as a truthful record of events compiled then and there, by an intelligent witness of the revolution, free from suspicion of bias on the popular side.*

Mr. Bohun became convinced that he was justified in transferring his allegiance. The sturdiest advocates of indefeasible hereditary monarchy admitted that a case had arisen to which that doctrine did not apply. The most submissive slaves of 'passive obedience' held that they were 'not bound to remain forever without a government,' or actively to seek the restoration of a prince who had sought to enslave the nation and overthrow the protestant church. Through the medium of the press, by correspondence with his friends, in private intercourse, and even by public disputation at the very threshold of Whitehall, Mr. Bohun engaged strenuously in defence of the church of England against the assaults of popery. He held fast the theory of 'non-resistance'; but thanked God that he, by his own 'particular providence' had rejected a king who 'had notoriously invaded and destroyed all our civil and religious rights and liberties.' †

Death had removed several of the most influential friends through whom our diarist might have obtained public preferment; and the revolution brought upon him a new order of troubles. His abandonment of the cause of James now cost him the friendship of archbishop Sancroft, dean Hickey, and others who adhered to the rigid and hopeless views of the nonjurors. To add to his vexation, his tenant at Dale hall proved unfaithful and unsuccessful; and he was obliged in 1690, to retire 'with a heavy heart' to the uncongenial business of the farm.

During the next two years, which he passed at Dale hall, he engaged actively in magisterial duties. Then, also, he compiled 'The character of queen Elizabeth,' and of her ministers of state, a book not altogether unworthy to accompany the quaint sketches of Sir Robert Naunton, and which, though never reprinted in this country, was translated into French.‡

* On one point his testimony (see the diary, p. 82) is quite at variance with the statement of a modern authoress, that when James the second returned to London, on the 16th December 1688, he 'was greeted with impassioned demonstrations of affection,' and that 'the air was rent with the acclamations of people of all degrees, who ran in crowds to welcome him.' Miss Strickland, 'Lives of the queens of England,' ix, 271. † 'The doctrine of passive obedience,' etc. p. 7.

‡ A la Haye, 1691. 12mo. In the title page the author is described as 'le Sr. Bohun de la société royale,' an honour which he did not attain. The work to which Mr. Bohun refers, as his principal authority, (see the diary, p. 118) is intitled 'Historia rerum Britannicarum,' etc. 'ab anno 1572 ad annum 1628; auctore Roberto Johnstono, Scoto-Britanno.' Amst. 1655, fol.

William and Mary had not long occupied the throne when party feeling began to revive. In the parliament which met on the 30th March 1690 there was a large majority of tories. They chose Sir John Trevor as their speaker, and wished to see men of their own principles in the other offices of state. Not the least important of these was the post of licenser of the press. Mr. Bohun presented himself as a man qualified for it by his learning and industry, and at the same time well settled in high principles; and he thankfully accepted the offer.

His position as licenser was a painful and difficult one. His known opinions and published writings laid him open to a strong suspicion of Jacobitism on the one hand: his avowed allegiance to William and Mary exposed him, on the other, to a charge of gross inconsistency. Those who, through the previous reigns, had panted for freedom, looked with terrible misgiving upon the censorship of a violent tory: those who had been his most ardent political friends coldly withdrew from him now that he seemed to abandon the doctrine of indefeasible hereditary monarchy.

He held the office only five months. The political leaning which was his strongest recommendation to the tory leaders, made him the butt of their opponents. Ransacking his early publications, they found enough to render him odious; and an occasion soon offered for bringing down upon him a fatal storm.

Several writers, bishop Burnet among the rest, had urged that one ground upon which the scruples of the nonjurors might be removed was, that William of Orange, while he had no hereditary claim to the throne of England and therefore could not succeed to it, even though it were vacated, yet had possessed himself of the monarchy by right of *conquest*. And it had been held, by the most loyal writers, that conquest was a foundation of right. Mr. Bohun, with the best intention, gave his *imprimatur* to a pamphlet which adopted this line of argument. The doctrine was peculiarly offensive to both parties. William had expressly abjured the design of conquering this country. All men felt that to have been conquered were a deep dishonour. Here was a fair pretext for obtaining Mr. Bohun's dismissal from his office.*

* Execution was done upon the offensive pamphlet 'by force of reason, as well as by fire'; as appears by 'the second edition' of 'An account of Mr. Blunt's late book, entitled, King William and queen Mary conquerors, ordered by the house of commons to be burnt by the hand of the common hangman on wednesday morning next, at ten of the clock in the Palace yard Westminster.' Lond. 1693, 4to. A contemporaneous manuscript note on a copy of this pamphlet, confirms the statement (see the diary, p. 108) that Bohun himself was supposed to have written the tract attributed to Blount.

His protestant zeal had occasioned his expulsion from the magistracy under James the second; but after the revolution his name was restored to the commission; and he now once more took up his abode at Dale hall and employed himself diligently as a justice of peace in Ipswich. The whig party, successful in their turn, made a sudden and combined attempt to throw out of the commission those who were known to entertain opposite opinions, however actively useful or however well affected to the existing government they might be. Mr. Bohun, with others, fell a victim to this conspiracy. There seemed nothing left to him but poverty and contempt, if he could not still have looked onward with trustful hope and upward with godly fear. It was with bitter and grateful self-application that, reflecting on the fate of the opulent and caressed but wretched dukes of Buckingham,* he wrote,

*Thou oh Lord Chovest thy servants more Wisely,
treated them more prudently, keepest them
low in this World, rewardest them better in the
next, and takest care of their childrens
children after them, which princes can not do.*

The diary ends in the spring of 1697, and as diaries usually end, rather abruptly.

It does not appear through what medium Mr. Bohun obtained, in the following year, the office of chief justice of South Carolina.† His eldest surviving son, Edmund, had settled, as a merchant, in that colony: ‡ a circumstance which, if it did not lead to

* See the diary, p. 126.

† Thirty five years before, Carolina had been granted by Charles the second to eight noblemen and gentlemen, as a country 'not yet cultivated and planted, and only inhabited by some barbarous people who had no knowledge of God.' Under the liberal rule of the proprietors and the 'constitutions' drawn up, with their sanction, by the illustrious Locke, many english families were induced to transplant themselves to Carolina, and to invest their property in the colony.

‡ See the diary, p. 129. There are in the Sloane mss. in the British museum, 3321, fo. 161, 4033, fo. 224, several letters from this Edmund Bohun to Mr. Petiver the botanist and to Mr. afterwards Sir Hans Sloane. These eminent naturalists had evidently enlisted him in their service; and the letters, while they furnish an example of the obliging diligence to which all great collectors have been indebted, show that a personal friendship existed between the parties. Writing from 'Charles Towne, March 8th 1699-1700,' Mr. Bohun says he has been endeavouring to increase the number of Mr. Petiver's correspondents; and hopes, 'before the summer goes,' to procure 'a good parcel of plants, etc.' and 'some minerals' which 'lye in the mountains.' He addresses the same correspondent, from Carolina, April 18th 1700, as follows: 'My friend, I have sent you, by Capt. Taylor, two volumes of plants. I have taken the best care I could in collecting them; but I hope you will consider this is the first time I ever did anything

the appointment, at all events rendered it the more acceptable, though the salary was a pittance of sixty pounds a year. He took a last farewell of his native country, about

of that kind. I have sent you a bottle of rum, with such things as I could get. . . I dare say some of them are not common in England. I have sent you such land shells as come in my way. They are not very common here to be met with. Your friend Mr. Ellis has got and sent you, with these things, above a hundred butterflies. . . Pray, by the first opportunity, send me some garden seeds to oblige some of my friends here with, who are very careful to furnish me with such things as come in their way. Pray give my hearty service to my good friends Dr. Hause and Mr. Buddle. I wish you all health and happiness, and beg leave to conclude, sir, your sincere friend, *Edmund Bohun*.' r. s. 'I pray send me some of your printed directions, and some boxes, which I will take care shall be left with some careful friends here. Pray send me some pickle coveowner seed, and corn poppy seed, and nasturtium or Capuchin caper, for Sir Nathaniel Johnson. I have sent you a piece of 8-8 by the captain, to drink with you and my two friends within named. Direct to Mr. Ellis and myself at Nicholas Trott's esq. Charles Towne, Carolina.'

The Rev. *Adam Buddle*, was another of the constellation of botanists who shone so brightly, before *Linnaeus* eclipsed the earlier luminaries. Pulteney, 'Sketches of botany,' ii, 315. Sir *Nathaniel Johnson* was afterwards governor of South Carolina. He is remarkable for having tried to introduce the raising a vegetable 'silk' and an endowed church; as well as for his defence of the province against the Spaniards and French in 1706, and his less successful stand, in 1719, against those who, in the next year, 'threw themselves under the immediate protection of the crown of Great Britain.' Holmes, 'Annals of America,' i, 186, 492, 495, 521, 522. *Nicholas Trott* was 'attorney general and naval officer' and afterwards chief justice. Hinton, 'History of the United States,' i, 213. Trott appears to have edited, 'Laws of the British plantations in America relating to the church and the clergy, religion, and learning.' Lond. 1721, fol. The Trotts of Beccles were worshipful men in the time of Charles the first. Matthew Trott was register of the court of the commissary of Suffolk; and a 'Nicholas Trott' had the living of Ringsfield in 1663.

Mr. Bohun addresses Mr. Petiver as follows, from 'Charles Towne, April 20th 1700. My friend, your two too kind letters, by Capt. Man, came to my hands yesterday. He has had a dismal passage, three months coming, and the small pox on board. . . My spider catcher is dead; however I shall train up some more to perform that work. Mr. Ellis who lives with me in the country, is very dextrous, and has sent you many very fine butterflies. Capt. More you mention is a very ingenious gentleman, sure enough; but I fear he will not make a good philosopher, being otherwise full of employment, and, besides, his genius does not lie that way. He is my father's successor. Never fear but that I will take the best care I can to settle you a good correspondence here. Pray send me some green broom, a small quantity for a medicine, for a friend of mine here. I hear here are cochineels; but more of that hereafter, when I am better satisfied of the truth. I must beg leave to conclude, sir, your real and sincere friend, *Edmund Bohun*.

'Capt. More' may have been James Moore who was 'secretary' under governor Blake when chief justice Bohun entered on his office. The provincial council had probably exercised in his favour the power, conferred upon them by the lords proprietors, of appointing a chief justice temporarily, in the event of the death of that functionary. Moore was afterwards governor. Hinton, i, 208. The lords proprietors issued a commission to the honourable Robert Gibbs to be chief justice, 11th December 1708.

Again: we have a letter to Mr. Petiver dated 'Goose creek, Carolina, July 16th 1700. My friend, I have sent you, by my countryman Mr. Bedford, a small parcel of the seed of the sweet scented laurel or tulip tree; which flowers in May and June. It bears a very sweet flower and grows in wet ground. I have made you a very pretty collection of insects, and about six or seven volumes of plants, with six or seven hundred butterflies and moths, some very fine and scarce; but cannot send them now. . . I remain your sincere and hearty friend, *Edmund Bohun*.' r. s. 'It is very hard to get seeds in this place; for they are no sooner ripe but gone.'

midsummer 1698, carrying with him his official appointment by the lords proprietors,*

In a communication dated 'Carolina, Nov. 9th-15th 1700, Mr. Bohun addresses the same correspondent. 'I shall send you by a friend, Capt. Man, my last summer's collection, viz. two volumes of plants; two bottles of rum; one large box with two volumes of butterflies; and some seeds of flowering trees; one small box of insects. You had had a much larger collection, but two unhappy accidents hindered me. I lost two volumes of plants, curiously preserved, in a hurricane that blew downe my friend's house where they were; and I have had three months' sickness, which much weakened me and was a great hindrance to the progress I intended in your affairs. Expect more, by the next opportunity, from sir, your most sincere and hearty friend, *Edmund Bohun*.'

A little later Mr. Bohun thus checks the somewhat unreasonable urgency of his nature-loving friends: 'You expect collections every month: which, considering the distance I am from town at the times of ships coming away, you must excuse me. Those collections Mr. Ellis and I have made last summer, and those we shall make betwixt this and March, I intend to bring with me. . . . Pray give my hearty service to Dr. Udall, and let him know I shall always, to the utmost of my power, be ready to serve him; but I cannot bring him any bulbous roots; for we have none near us that I know of.'

On the point of leaving the colony, to take possession of the estates which had devolved upon him by the death of his father, Mr. Bohun writes to Mr. Petiver as follows. 'Carolina, April 28th 1701. My friend: I take this opportunity, by Capt. Flavell, to let you know I intend, if I live, to see you shortly. I shall come in the Mermaid brigantine, Capt. Martin commander; who will sail in ten dayes after Capt. Flavell. I shall bring my collection with me; which, for insects, I think I may say, without vanity, is the largest and most compleat that ever you saw from Carolina. Plants you had had more, if the hurricane had not destroyed them. Mr. Ellis is well and sends his service to you, and will take care, in my absence, to supply you with all that he can get. But you must send him some garden seeds every year, to supply his friends with, or else you cannot expect that the country people here will be very ready to give him any assistance. For without some help from them a man can doe but little. This, with my kind love and hearty service to all my friends, and to major Halsted, is all from sir, your friend and servant, *Edmund Bohun*.'

* A copy of this document is in the state paper office, in an entry book, 'Carolina, B. T. 3,' p. 51.

* John earle of Bath, palatine, Anthony lord Ashley, William lord Craven, George lord Carteret, Sir John Colleton barrt., Tho. Amy, Joseph Blake, and W. Thornburgh esqs, the true and absolute lords and proprietors of the province of Carolina; to Edmund Bohun esq.

'Wee, reposing especial trust and confidence in the ability, care, prudence, and fidelity of you the said Edmond Bohun, have ordained, constituted, and appointed, and by these presents doe ordaine, constitute, and appoint you the said Edmond Bohun by the name and stile of chief justice or judge of that part of our province of Carolina that lyes south and west of Cape Fear: to have hold and determine all pleas as well civil as criminall and those relating to the publique revenues, and all other pleas whatsoever arising or happening within the said part of our province of Carolina: giving and hereby granting unto you the said Edmond Bohun full power and authority to doe, perform, and execute all aets, matters, and things whatsoever, within the said part of our province of Carolina, which to the office of a chief justice do in any wise belong or appertaine, and in as large and ample manner to all intents and purposes as any justice or baron of any of the courts of Westminster or any of the english plantations in America may or ought to performe and execute: to have and to hold the said office of chief justice in the said part of our province of Carolina, together with all fees, perquisites, privileges, libertys, immunities, and casualtyes belonging to the said office, untill wee, the granters of this commission, shall (upon a full hearing of him the said Edmond Bohun or some other person commissoned by him) adjudge him worthy to be deprived of this office for any misbehaviour or injustice by him committed, and noe longer; after which judgment upon such hearing of him the said Edmond Bohun by us or the major part of us given, this commission shall be as if it never had been granted: and wee doe hereby require and command all our

their order to the receiver general* for due payment of the salary, and letters of commendation to the governor and council of the province.†

He did not find the new world exempt from the imperfections and troubles of the old. The colonists, consisting mainly of spirited or needy adventurers in trade and of refugees from the religious oppressions of England and France, appear to have been possessed, for many years, with a demon of turbulence and discontent. The ‘fundamental constitutions,’ drawn up by Locke and which, with one sad exception, were

officers and all other persons whatsoever in any wise concerned to take notice of this grant and give all due obedience to him the said Edmund Bohun in the execution of the several powers herein granted him, as they will answer the contrary at their perill, and wee doe hereby revoke and make null all former commissions granted for the said office. Given under our hands and great seal of our province this 22nd of May 1698. *Wm. Thoernburgh, for Sir John Colleton; Tho. Amy; Wm. Thoernburgh; Bath, palatine; A. Ashley; Craecen; Bathe, for the Lord Carteret.*

* Thomas Cary esq.

† Copies of these letters are in the entry book above referred to.

THE PROPRIETORS TO THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

London, August 16th 1698.

‘Gentlemen: wee are intent upon making you the happy settlement in America; in order to which wee sent you by Major Daniell (who we hope is safely arrived) constitutions of government, in which wee have been more hearty in securing your liberty and property than any particular advantages of our owne. With him went a Mr. Marshall, a minister recommended by us, who, wee hope and doubt not, will, both by example and preaching, encourage virtue, and that he will not want encouragement from you. And because good laws without due exercise are a dead letter, and the reputation of a just execution of them is inviting, wee have commissioned Edmund Bohun esq., a person who has had a very good reputation in the execution of the laws of England, to be your chief justice; who, besides the advantage of his owne estate, which will be transmitted to him, is allowed by us a very good salary, to keep him beyond the reach or temptation of corruption. . . . Gentlemen, your very affectionate friends, *Bathe, palatine;*’ etc.

‘To Joseph Blake esq. governor, and to our deputys and council of South Carolina.’

THE PROPRIETORS TO GOVERNOR BLAKE AND OTHERS.

. . . ‘And whereas Edmund Bohun esq. is now sent over to you with our commission of chief justice of South Carolina, with fuller power and authority than has heretofore been granted to any person in that or the like station; so that, he standing single, his death or departure may bring great inconveniencies to our said colony; you are hereby impowered, in case of his death or departure aforesaid, to appoint some other person, under our great seal, to supply that place till such time as wee shall think fitt to appoint another or approve of the person you have so nominated; and in the meane time, you are to give him the said Edmund Bohun all due encouragement in the management of the said office, and to admit him to all debates in the council, but without any vote, to the end he may be fully instructed so to transact all affaires in his said office as may best promote our service and the peace and welfare of the people of Carolina. *Bathe, palatine;*’ etc.

‘To Joseph Blake esq., governor of Carolina, James More, secretary, Landgrave Joseph Moreton, Major Robert Daniell, Capt. Edmund Bellinger, and John Ely esqs.’

It will be seen by the genealogy that Nicholas Bohun, son of the chief justice, married a daughter of Captain Bellinger.

not unworthy of his name, had been surrendered to the general dislike or perverse prejudice of the people. John Archdale, a quaker, one of the proprietors, had indeed, by a personal visit to the colony, succeeded in restoring peace, and had transferred the office of governor into the hands of Joseph Blake, nephew of the english admiral, and 'a man of prudence and moderation acceptable to the people.*' Nevertheless, dissension and resistance to the proprietary rule were ever ready to break out afresh. There were two political parties; those who strenuously maintained the authority of the proprietors, and those who sought to defend the liberties of the people. There were at least two parties also in ecclesiastical affairs; one which desired to perpetuate the ample religious freedom provided by the charter of Charles the second; and another which aimed at establishing episcopacy and excluding other sects from a seat in the colonial assembly. The reader of Mr. Bohun's autobiography will feel no surprise that, amidst elements so discordant, he was not rendered very comfortable in his new station, did not enjoy the full sympathy of the governor, and was betrayed into giving some cause of displeasure to the lords proprietors.†

* Hinton, 'History of the United States,' i, 207.

† The following extracts from the book in the state paper office, show that while the chief justice had been betrayed by his natural warmth of temper, it was not of him alone that the proprietors had to complain; and at the same time illustrate the difficulty of their position in relation to so distant a colony.

THE PROPRIETORS TO THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL.

* London, Sept. 21st 1669.

'Gentlemen: wee are not willing to let any ship goe from hence without a line from us. And truly you do manage matters, on all hands, that wee have occasion more than enough. Wee are sorry that the sincere love and hearty care wee have for our colony should produce no better effect, and wonder you can't see the benefit that will always acerne to you and your posterity by a judge who does not depend on the will and pleasure of a governor. For as we will not act arbitrarily ourselves, so we will always endeavour that nobody shall. Wee expected that you and our counsell should have countenanced our judge; but wee easily discern that you raise him all the enuys and troubles that you can, and in some things in an extraordinary way, to say no otherwise of it. Not that wee judge him altogether blameless; but there have been faults on all hands. And wee expect and earnestly desire that which is past may be forgot, and that for the future you would give him due encouragement and assistance, as wee shall require of him to carry himself with all respect to you and justice and kindness to the people. . . Gentlemen, your very affectionate friends, *Bothe, palatine;*' etc.

'To Jos. Blake esq. governor,' etc.

THE PROPRIETORS TO CHIEF JUSTICE BOHUN.

* London, September 21st 1699.

'Sir: wee are sorry you have not met with the encouragement and assistance wee designed you should have had and which for the future will be given to you; but can't omitt to tell you that you likewise

While they were using every effort to conciliate the parties and settle personal disputes, other calamities overtook the colony. Piracy infested its shores; a dreadful hurricane threatened the total destruction of Charlestown; the sea rushing in with amazing impetuosity drove the inhabitants to the second stories of their houses for safety; a fire broke out which laid the greater part of the town in ashes, and, to complete the catalogue of ills, small pox and fever raged from house to house and swept off an incredible number of people. 'Never,' it is said, 'had the colony been visited with such general distress and mortality: discouragement and despair sat on every countenance.' Happily but few lives were lost by the hurricane or the flood.

have been to blame and have done some things imprudently and irregularly. Wee had rather that you, calmly considering of what is past, should find them out, than wee be forced to tell you of them. Wee have given orders to the governor and councill in this matter; and wee expect that you should show them all respect. Wee would recommend to you not to shew too great a love for money, which is not beautiful in any man, but worse becoming a judge. Take no more than your dues, and if they at present be of the least, consider time will mend them; and if that don't there may be means found to doe it. The way to compass that, is not by complaint or passion. When you have convinced every body by your actions of your justice, and especially if you act with prudence and temper, you will gain their love, and they will be studying to make such a man easy. Sir, your very affectionate friends, *Bathe, pulatine; Craven; Bathe, for lord Carteret; Wm. Thornburgh, for Sir John Colleton, Tho. Amy; Wm. Thornburgh.*

'To Edmund Bohan esq. chief judge of Carolina.'

THE PROPRIETORS TO GOVERNOR BLAKE.

'London, October 19th 1699.

... 'Wee are troubled to see you have not given encouragement to our judge, as you ought to have done, but have, on the other hand, to vex him, been exalting the admiralty jurisdiction. 'Tis so surprising to us that we can't tell what to think of you, or the councill, or the people, for whose sake wee were at the charge to send and maintaine a judge. The people of New Yorke have addressed the governor that judges and councillors may be sent from England, and promise to encourage them themselves. . . . There is nothing contributes more to the peopling of a country than an impartial administration of justice: nothing encourages trade more; for it's hardly to be imagined that men will labour and run great hazards to get an estate if they have not some assurance of being protected by the lawes. . . . Wee must desire you to be very cautious, for the future, in giving your assent to acts which hinder men from coming at their just rights. . . . Sir, your very affectionate friends, *Bathe, pulatine;* ' etc.

'To Joseph Blake esq. governor of Carolina.'

THE PROPRIETORS TO NICHOLAS TROTT ESQ.

'London, October 19th 1699.

... 'Wee are well pleased with your prudent management of the affairs of judge Bohan, and returne you our thanks. Wee are sensible that he likewise has in some things not been so prudent as he should have been. Wee have directed your governor and councill to accommodate that affayr and to countenance our judge, in which wee expect great assistance from your knowledge and prudence. . . . Sir, your affectionate friends, *Bathe pulatine;* ' etc.

'To Nicholas Trott esq. attorney generall of that part of our province of Carolina, that lies south and west of Cape Feare.'

In the Name of God Amen the Thursday day of June
in the yeare of Our Lord According to the Computation of
the Church of England one thousand Six hundred
ninety and Eight I Edmund Botum of Westhall in the
County of Suff: Esq³ being in good health blessed be God
for it and intending by his permission to pass into
America do make and Ordaine this my last will and
Testament in manner and form following Imprimis
I give and bequeath into the hands of allmighty God my good
and morrifull Creator and preserver my soule resigning my
self intirely to his disposal hoping for salvation and the
Remission of my sins only in and thro' the Merits and
mediation of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by
the Application of the holy Ghost. And my body to be buried
in Christian Buriall where it shall please God to call me.

Item I give and bequeath unto my beloved wife Mary
all my plate Linen and house hold stuff which I shall
have here in England at the time of my death if she
shall happen to remain here without me, Except my
bookes which I desire may not be sold but remaine
in my family from Generation to Generation as
long as there is any left of my Name.

Edmund Botum



Among those to whom the epidemic proved fatal were Samuel Marshall the episcopal clergyman, John Ely then receiver-general, Edward Rawlins provost marshal, above half the members of assembly, and—the upright and freespoken, but persecuted and unfortunate chief justice Bohun.* He died on the 5th of October 1699.†

Of Edmund Bohun, our autobiographer, it may be remarked,—borrowing the words of a more able editor, respecting another author of Suffolk birth, †—‘he

* Hewatt, ‘Account of South Carolina and Georgia,’ i, 112; Drayton, ‘View of South Carolina,’ p. 201; Holmes, ‘Annals of America,’ i, 475.

† Doubt has been entertained as to time of his death, probably in consequence of the letters from his son, Edmund, some of which are of subsequent date, (see above, p. xxv) having been ascribed to the chief justice himself. But the subjoined entry, made by that son in the parish register book of Westhall, after his return from Carolina, is conclusive: ‘Edmundus Bohun armig., Johannis vero Bathonic comitis ceterorumque Australis Carolinæ coloniarum veror. et supremor. dominor. proprietariorum delegatione, justiciarius capitalis Mui 22^o 1698 constitutus, et inde febre pestilentiali ablatas, in dormitorio Caroleopolitano quod est mortale reliquit.’ The leaf on which this entry occurs is headed, in the hand writing of our autobiographer, as follows: ‘This booke was first bound in covers and all the ensuing leaves added at the sole cost and charge of Edmund Bohun esq. 1672: therefore he desireth this whole keafe may be preserved for and used by none but his posterity.’

The will of Edmund Bohun the diarist is written entirely with his own hand. He gives to his eldest son, Edmund Bohun, in fee simple, all his manors and real estates in Westhall, Brampton, Spexhall, Uggeshall, Sotherton, Henham, or towns adjoining, in Suffolk, charged with his speciality debts and with legacies to his sons Nicholas and William, his daughter Dorothea, and his ‘good friend William Bell of Uggeshall.’ The testator appoints his wife, his son Edmund, and his ‘trusty and well-beloved friend William Bell of Uggeshall gent.’ executors; and further directs that in case he shall die before his youngest sons, Nicholas and William, shall be one and twenty years of age, then Nicholas shall be allowed, out of the estates, £25 a year ‘for his cloathing and subsistence when on shour,’ and William £50 a year ‘if he goes on with his learning and continues in England.’ The will was proved by Edmund Bohun, one of the executors, alone, in the court of the archdeacon of Suffolk, 19th August 1701.

The position assigned to Mr. Bell in the will furnishes the only apparent key to the words ‘in Uggeshall’ upon the silver mounting of an ivory hafted carving knife which has accidentally come into the possession of Mr. Richard Bohun and is figured on page xxxiii.

There is an injunction with regard to his books which marks the ‘ruling passion’ of the testator, but of a nature which, it has been observed, (Nicholas, Test. vet. xxxvii) ‘has rarely been kept for more than two generations.’ The only remnants of the diarist’s library that the editor has discovered are, the diary itself, the ‘historical collections’ mentioned at page 86, and the beautifully painted book of flowers, etc., ‘Jacques le moine, dit de Morgues peintre, 1585,’ which was bequeathed by the will of Humphry Bohun of Sotherton, (see p. 77) was presented by Edmund Bohun, son of the diarist, to Joseph Odley esq., and is now in the possession of Mrs. Martin of Worsborough, widow of his descendant William Bennet Martin esq. This curious volume opens with a sonnet inviting the lords of the creation to unite their praises with all nature and rejoice in the returning light,

‘Qui bigarre le sein à la terre de fleurs:

Et n’y a fruit, ni grain, vermine, ni mouchette

Qui ne presche un seul Dieu; et la moindre fleurlette

Nous demonstre un prin-temps d’immortelles couleurs.’

† See the ‘Annals of the first four years of the reign of queen Elizabeth, by Sir John Hayward knt. D. C. L.; edited by John Bruce esq. F. S. A.’ (Cam. soc.) 1810, Introd. pp. xx, xxxv, xxxvii.

held extreme opinions on many points of politics: the divine right of kings and the indefeasibleness of hereditary succession are a key to the whole of them; and if we may not add that he maintained them consistently and unalterably, he did what was better, he conscientiously abandoned their practical application. 'His theological opinions were in strict conformity with the articles and formularies of the church of England; and his practice was that of a man strongly impressed with a sense of the importance of religious observances.' As in the case of the earlier aspirant in the path of historical research, so with slight variation, in that of our diarist, 'disappointment followed him through life; his patrons successively failed him; he aimed at public employment' almost 'without success; and his books brought him little fame.' His first born and best loved son was cut off in the bloom of life; his only daughter married against his will; and, notwithstanding his love to his 'deare countrie' and a natural desire to be buried with his fathers, he found an unknown grave beyond the vast Atlantic, and his only epitaph is a brief note inserted by the hand of filial piety in the parish register at Westhall.

To him the 'short life of nature' was chequered with gloomy colours; to the 'long life of fame' his productions or his deeds cannot earn him a very cordially awarded title; but to the 'eternall life of glorie' he appears, amidst frailties and infirmities, uniformly to have had respect.





LIST OF EDMUND BOHUN'S PUBLICATIONS.

NOTED BY 1764

- i. An address to the freemen and freeholders of the nation. 1682. Part ii, *s. y.*
Part iii, 1683. 50
- ii. Reflections on 'A just and modest vindication of the proceedings of the two
last parliaments;' or a defence of his majesty's late declaration. 1683. 52
- iii. The justice of peace his calling. 1684. 1693. 60
- iv. The origine of atheism in the popish and protestant churches: a translation of
'Origo athei-mi in pontificia et evangelica ecclesia à Dorotheo Sicuro ostensa.' 1684. 66
- v. A defence of Sir Robert Filmer against Algernon Sidney's paper delivered to
the sheriffs upon the scaffold. 1684. 67
- vi. Filmer's 'Patriarcha'; the second edition, corrected, with a preface and
postscript. 1685. 67
- vii. An apology of the church of England and an epistle to one seignor Scipio:
a translation of Jewel's Apology, etc.; with a life of Jewel. 1685. 68
- viii. The method and order of reading histories: a translation and enlargement of
Degory Wheare 'De ratione et methodo legendi historias,' etc. 1685. 1691. 1698. 1710. 69
- ix. An apology for the church of England, against the clamours of the men of no
conscience, or the duke of Buckingham's second. 1685. 69

| | NOTED AT PAGE |
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| x. The universal historical bibliothèque : a translation of Le Clerc ; for January, February, and March 1686-7. 1687. | 76 |
| xi. A geographical dictionary. 1688. | 80 |
| xii. [An answer to a pamphlet in favour of recalling James II.] 1689. | 82 |
| xiii. The general history of the reformation : a translation of Sleidan, with a continuation to the end of the council of Trent. 1689. | 79 |
| xiv. The history of the desertion; with an answer to 'The desertion discussed.' 1689. | 84 |
| xv. The doctrine of non-resistance or passive obedience no way concerned in the controversies between Williamites and Jacobites. 1689. | 85 |
| xvi. The present state of Germany : a translation of Puffendorf 'De stata Germanici imperii.' 1690. | 88 |
| xvii. Three charges delivered at the general quarter sessions at Ipswich in 1691 and 1692. 1693. | 99 |
| xviii. The character of queen Elizabeth and of her principal ministers of state. 1693. | 118 |
| xix. [Historical and geographical collections, inserted in] The great historical, geographical, and poetical dictionary. 1694. | 87 |
| xx. [A paper on the coinage.] 1696. | 139 |
| xxi. Heylyn's Cosmography, with an historical continuation. 1703. | 80 |



2003750

Autobiography.



[TRANSLATION.]

TO THE READER.

IF by chance you look into this book (which, during my life, no one shall do with-
out my consent, I would have you interpret candidly whatever you meet with. For I
write this for myself alone, not for others. And in latin, lest my servants should pry
into it. In a rude, nay barbarous, style, perhaps, full of faults and grammatical errors.
I care nothing about this. The subject, not the language, is my aim. You do not
understand me, say you? Nor do I wish it. If you turn off your eyes altogether
I will thank you. Farewell.

[ORIGINAL.]

LECTORI.

Si forte hunc librum inspexeris (quod me vivente nemini libenter concessurus sum) candide quicquid
occurrit te interpretari velim; mihi enim soli hæc scribo, non aliis. Latine, vero, ne servi mei
inspicerent. Rudi imo barbaro forsitan stilo, mendisque et erroribus grammaticis referto. Hoc nihil
curo. Res non sermo mihi cura est. Non intelligis, ais? Nec cupio. Si in totum et omnino oculos
tuos averteris, agam gratias. Videto.

'Denique teipsum
Concute, num qua tibi vitiorum inseverit olim
Natura, aut etiam consuetudo mala; namque
Neglectis urenda filix innascitur agris.'*

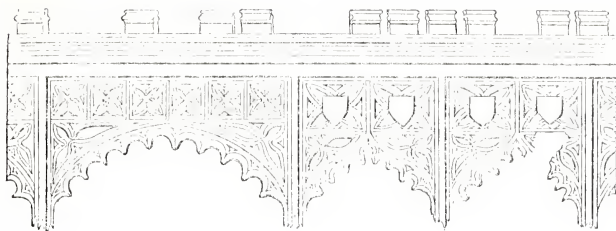
Hor. Sat. i, iii, 31.

Cette parole de Saint Augustin est bien remarquable : 'Voulez vous bien mourir, vivez bien
Celui qui vit bien ne peut mourir mal. La bonne mort est la récompense de la bonne vie.' †

L'hist. de la Sainte Bible, p. 358.

* 'Sift then your soul, explore each secret sin
By nature or worse habit sown within
For oft thro' long neglect the noxious weed
Towers o'er the crop and chokes the rising seed.' Howes, tr.

† This saying of Saint Augustine is very remarkable. 'Would you die well, live well. He who lives well, cannot die ill.' a good
death is the reward of a good life.'



Autobiography of Edmund Bohun.

[TRANSLATION.]

DIARY OF MY LIFE.

1676-7. MÆCEN. 12th.



COMPLETED the thirty-second year of my age, through the great kindness of God, who hath kept me, by his mercy and goodness, from many calamities which I have deserved. To Him I dedicate the remainder of my life.

236d I read the work of Henry Henniges, a German, 'De summa imperatoris Romani potestate circa sacra': a truly learned book, written with equal erudition and subtilty of reasoning, and full of varied and extensive reading. It clearly sets forth, explains and proves the rights of princes; exposing the fraudulent practices of the popes, and the means they have employed to deprive sovereigns

[ORIGINAL.]

COMMENTARIA VITÆ MEÆ.

1676. MARTIS XII. Annum ætatis meæ xxxii^{um} complevi, maxima Numinis indulgentia, quæ me ex multis et meritis calamitatibus eruit pari cum misericordia et bonitate; cui quod restat vitæ dico dedicoque.

XXIII. Perlegi Henricum Henniges, Germanum, 'De summa imperatoris Romani potestate circa sacra'; liber is sane doctissimus, pari cum eruditione et rationis acumine scriptus, tum varia et multiplici lectione relictus. Jura enim principum dilucide exponit, proponit, probat; fraudes denique paparum detegit, mediaque quibus usi sunt ad eripendam eis potestatem a Deo creditam. Ejus tituli sunt. '1. De

of the power entrusted to them by God. Its titles are: '1. De officio principis circa sacra. 2. Imperatori imperium circa sacra competere. 3. De finibus summi imperii circa sacra. 4. De iudicio circa sacra. 5. De legislatoria potestate circa sacra. 6. De iurisdictione circa sacra et puniendis hereticis. 7. De electionibus. 8. De synodis. 9. De eminenti dominio in sacris rebus. 10. De jure advocatiæ. 11. De jure erigendi academias.'

The whole work is composed after the manner of Grotius 'De jure belli ac pacis.' May God bless the book and its author.'

1677
May 22 26th

I read again a book by Sir William Temple bart. intitled 'Observations upon the united provinces of the Netherlands';^b in which are many clever remarks on the trade and government of that country.'

officio principis,' [etc. as in the text.] Totum opus ad modum Grotii 'De jure belli et pacis' compositum. Deus benedicat operi et auctori.

1677. xxvi. Relegi librum Gulielmi Temple baronetii, cui titulus 'Observations' [etc.] in apto permuta sunt sapienter dicta et de commercio et de regimine politico ejus gentis.

A life of Henniges, written in latin, by J. S. Strobel, appeared at Auspach in 1757-8; but his name has found its way into few works of general biography. He was born at Weissenburg in Franconia, 5th September 1645; studied in the universities of Jena and Altorf, and was early distinguished by a profound knowledge of law and a talent for diplomacy. Plebeian birth was an obstacle to his advancement; and with the hope of being employed by the imperial cabinet of Vienna, he flattered that court in the book mentioned in the text; published at Nuremberg, 1667, 8vo. The scheme failed; but Henniges' ability introduced him to the service of Frederick William elector of Brandenburg, and at length of Frederick, afterwards first king of Prussia. At the congress of Frankfurt, where Charles VI was elected emperor of Germany, Henniges appeared as an ambassador of Prussia; and there, after having been present at only one sitting, he died, 26th August 1711. He also published 'De summa imperatoris Romani potestate circa profana'; Nuremberg, 1677, 8vo; besides other learned works bearing on politics and diplomacy. Bernhard, 'Biographie universelle', vol. xx.

^b London, 1673, 8vo. There were many editions before Sir William Temple's works were collected.

Temple.



Neither Temple's views of government, pronounced by St. Didier 'tout-à-fait républicaines', nor his remarks on religious liberty, praised by Sir James Mackintosh, accorded with the opinions of Mr. Bohun. But politicians of every shade admit, with a more recent deist, that 'Temple, whatever topic he treats, always entertains: he has an easy, regular stream of good sense, which never overflows or fills or stagnates.' 'Diary of a lover of literature,' p. 31. Dorothy Temple, granddaughter of the diplomatist, was married to Nicholas Bacon esq. of Shrubland hall, near Ipswich. Some valuable papers relating to her distinguished ancestor passed at length to the Rev. John Longe, vicar of Coddenhelm, who bequeathed a portion of them to the British museum; the remainder, in the hands of his son and successor, also became available to the Right Hon. Thomas Percival Conteyn, author of the 'Life of Sir William Temple,' published in 1816.

MARCH 29th. I read again a delightful little book, intitled 'A packet of advices and animadversions sent from London to the men of Shaftsbury';^d which, with wonderful ability and pains, exposes the fatal artifices and tumults designed by the presbyterian party, in some recent sessions of parliament, to renew the rebellion. This especially is to be noted: page 19, 'The Erle of Shaftsbury was of opinions and interest diametrically opposite to Clifford, yet presently closed with him in proposing the declaration for indulgence to dissenters in religion.' These are the very words of one of the presbyterians.^f But, at page 23,^e it appears that Clifford was a papist and on that account lost the office of treasurer of England;^h and, at page 24, that Shaftsbury, having lost the favour of the court and of the king, joined the presbyterian party;ⁱ whose praises you have in page 41, section 3.^j Hence it is plain to whom we owe that 'declaration': assuredly to the two factions most mischievous to our government and church.^k

XXIX. Relegi pulcherrimum libellum, cui titulus 'A packet' [etc.] quo, mira arte et industria, fraudes et perturbationes factionis presbyterianæ, posterioribus aliquot parliamenti conventibus, fatales et rebellioni renovandæ designatæ, deteguntur. Hoc vero maxime notandum. page 19, 'The Erle' [etc.] Hæc sunt ipsissima verba presbyteri ejusdam. Pagina vero 23^a apparet Cliffordum fuisse papalem, et ea de causa amisisse questoris Angliæ officium, et pagina 24^a Shaftsburiū, amisso aulæ et regis favore et gratia, se factioni presbyterianæ addidit, ejus encomium habes, page 11, § 3. Ex his constat tandem cui debemus eam declarationem, nimirum duabus factionibus regimini et ecclesiæ nostræ infestissimis.

^d Occasioned by a seditious pamphlet intitled A letter from a person of quality to his friend in the country.' London, 1676, 4to, pp. 71. Mr. Bohun's references are to a different edition. Watt, art. 'Couper,' has 'Lond. 1676, 4to, part 1st; 1677.' The 'seditious pamphlet' was the production of Locke; which 'did put so high a provocation upon both houses of parliament that they condemned it to be burnt by the hangman; and it was accordingly executed.' [1] 'The reviving of it now,' adds the writer of the 'Packet', 'we judged most necessary, to the end that a second execution might be done upon it publicly, by force of reason, as well as by fire.' 'Ed. 1676, p. 29.

^e Locke's words are 'closed with it; — the proposal. 'Letter from a person of quality,' ed. 1675, p. 7.

^f Ed. 1676, p. 36.

^h On account of his opposition to the test act.

ⁱ He foresaw his own fate, and laboured hard to get in elsewhere, before they had quite thrown him out at Whitehall; so that when he went off, he might, in a new world, turn up trump as the faithful great defender against popery.' 'Packet of advices', ed. 1676, p. 36. At the date of the above entry in Mr. Bohun's diary, Lord Shaftesbury was a prisoner in the tower. He was committed 16th February 1676-7, for supporting the Duke of Buckingham against the king's measures.

^j He understands little that seeth not presbytery to be the bottom of all; that bottom wherein we have been embarking, many years, unpreferred clergymen, broken factions, cashiered courtiers, guilty officers, hypocritical citizens, mistaken zealots of both sexes, old sinners but young saints, and their pelling levites, whose work it is, from house to house, to blow the bellows round the kingdom. All which use to employ their talents to draw in many of the honest hearted gentry . . . to side and vote with them in their pretences of redressing public grievances, reformation of abuses, removing or doing justice upon evil counsellors, and the like.' 'Packet of advices,' ed. 1676, p. 62.

^k Mr. Bohun, in one of his published works, observes, that the 'indulgence' was 'greedily embraced

MARCH 21st. I read 'Litteræ pseudo-senatus anglicani, Cromwellii reliquorum perduellium nomine ac jussu conscriptæ, a Joanne Milto[n]o'.^l Elegant, but dry and useless.

APRIL 11th. I read again Grotius 'De imperio summarum potestatum circa sacra';^m a book equally elegant and learned. No one, I think, can possibly answer its arguments. They are so clearly supported, and with such variety of examples and opinions of the greatest scholars, as to carry conviction to every mind. The heads are: '1. Summis potestatibus imperium circa sacra competere. 2. Distinctio imperii et functionis. 3. Quoniamque convenient sacra et profana quoad jus imperandi. 4. Solvuntur quæ contra imperium summarum potestatum circa sacra objici solent. 5. De judicio summarum potestatum circa sacra. 6. De modo imperii circa sacra recte exhibendi. 7. De synodis. 8. De legislatione circa sacra. 9. De jurisdictione circa sacra. 10. De electione per forum. 11. De muneribus in ecclesia non omnino necessariis; ubi de episcopis et presbyteris laicis. 12. De substitutione et delegatione et de jure patronatus.'

xxxI. Perlegi 'Litteras' [etc.] Elegantes sane, at steriles et inutiles.

APRIL 14. Relegi Grotium 'De imperio summarum potestatum circa sacra'; librum elegantem pariter et doctum, cujus rationibus neminem posse respondere arbitror; tanta cum luce et exemplorum varietate necnon et doctissimorum hominum sententiis confirmantur hominumque mentibus se insinuant; cujus capita sunt, 'Summis potestatibus' [etc.]

by the dissenters in general' and proved 'subservient to their interest'; but that, their eyes being opened a little, all the blame was thrown upon the papists, and the world persuaded that the presbyterians 'refused the bait when they saw the hook that lay under it.' He complains that no notice was taken of the king's natural inclination to pity, or of the fact that Shaftesbury was never reputed a papist. 'Address to the freemen', pt. i, 24, 25. Locke received from Clifford and Shaftesbury themselves, 'in private discourse', their own accounts of the share which each had in the transaction. Clifford admitted that he wished to confirm the absolute power of the crown, civil and ecclesiastical, and gradually to restore the Roman catholic religion. When Locke pointed out to Lord Shaftesbury that the 'declaration' assumed a power to repeal the laws and to overthrow protestantism, his lordship, with some warmth, denied that *he* had any such intention; and declared that it was to preserve the protestant religion, and for that object only, that he heartily joined in the measure. 'Letter,' pp. 4, 5. But the question 'to whom we owe' the 'declaration' has been long set at rest.

^l1676, 12mo. An English version appeared in 1691. The editor of a modern edition of Milton's 'Prose works,' royal 8vo. Lond. 1833, p. xlii, describes the 'Letters of state' as 'exquisite models of negotiation and composition.'

^m'Commentarius posthumus.' Paris, 1647, 8vo. In the succeeding year appeared a second edition, 'quæ sublati plurimis prioris mendis; scdula accesserunt Cl. Davidi Blondelli; cum ejusdem tractatu de jure plebis in regimine ecclesiastico.' An edition in 12mo. was published at Copenhagen, 1691, and an English version — 'The authority of the highest powers about sacred things; translated by C[lement] B[arksdale]' — in London, 1651, 8vo.

APRIL 9th. I read a book intituled 'Primitive christianity,' written by William Cave D. D.;^a truly learned, and full of striking admonitions and examples of piety, selected from the ecclesiastical historians and the holy fathers of the church, and beautifully arranged. My friend, Edmund Brome, rector of Woodbridge,^b warned me, however, that it contained some errors.

11th



My wife admonished me that I was disliked by many gentlemen on account of my talkativeness, and because I speak at too great length. I am conscious of being disliked; but I know not why. I have never, unless extremely provoked, uttered the slightest reproach against any. I have injured no one. Yet I am beloved only by the clergy and some other learned persons, with whom I chiefly associate; perhaps for no other reason than the above. For while I desire to gratify them by useful

IX. Prelegi librum cui nomen 'Primitive Christianity,' a Gulielmo Cave T. D. scriptum vere doctissimum, præclaris-que pietatis exemplis et monitis refectum ex historicis ecclesiasticis et sanctissimis patribus ecclesie, excerptis in ordinemque pulcherrimum digestis. Amicus vero meus E. Brome, rector de Woodbridge, monuit me aliquot in esse errores.

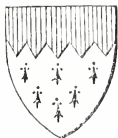
XI. Monuit me mea uxor me odio haberi a quamplurimis generosis ob nimiam loquendi facilitatem, et quod nimis sermonem extenderem. Certe me non amatum sentio, sed non qua de causa. Neminem, nisi summe provocatus, opprobrium vel levissimum dixi: neminem injuriæ affeci. Attamen non sum amatus nisi a clero et aliquot doctis atque hominibus quibus me precipue addixi. Nec alia forsitan causa quam

^aThe fame of this learned divine and eloquent preacher rests principally upon the 'Literary history of ecclesiastical writers'; but his 'Primitive Christianity or the religion of the ancient christians; in three parts', Lond. 1672, 8vo. has been esteemed one of the best books on the subject and many times reprinted.

Gul. Cave.

^bThe Rev. Edmund Brome, son of a minister of the same name who was ejected under the act of uniformity from Southrepps, Norfolk, (Palm. Nonc. Mem. iii, 13), was educated at St John's College, Cambridge; A. D. 1661, A. M. 1665. In the following year he was licensed to the perpetual curacy of Woodbridge, to which the impropriation was annexed by the will of Mrs. Dorothy Seckford in 1667. Mr. Brome, who was incumbent fifty-three years, died and was buried at Woodbridge in April 1719, aged seventy-seven. There is a strange story, purporting to have been authenticated by him, of a dutch lieutenant 'who was blown up with Opdam' in June 1665, 'but taken alive out of the water' and who 'could see ghosts.' Glanvill, 'Sadducismus triumphatus,' 1726, p. 355; 'Complete wizzard,' 1770, p. 72.

Probably a connexion existed between the families of Brome and Bampton, to which latter belonged the domestic monitor of the next paragraph in the text. The arms of Brome at Woodbridge, and on a nameless brass in the church of Brome near Bungay, are the same which are quartered with Bampton at Blo' Norton, Norfolk (Blom. Norfolk, i, 218), and in the pedigrees of the Bampton family, Harl. MSS. 1552, fo. 32v, 6093, fo. 33.



and original remarks, I am an annoyance to their dainty ears and womanly patience. Nor in reading what I write are they interested so much as they appear to be. What, then, is to be done? I must speak seldom, briefly, and only when requested; must keep back many things, be silent on many subjects, and not communicate my writings to any but my nearest friends.¹

Herbert.

'If thou be master-gunner spend not all
That thou canst speak at once; but husband it,
And give men turns of speech: doe not forestall,
By lavishness, thine owne and others wit,
As if thou mad'st thy will a civil guest
Will no more talke all than eat all the feast.'
'Mark what another sayes; for many are
Full of themselves, and answere their own notion
Take all into thee; then, with equal care,
Balance each dram of reason, like a potion.
If truth be with thy friend, bee with them both:
Share in the conquest, and confess a troth.'²

Martial, vii. 41

'Occurrit tibi nemo quod libenter.
Quod, quacunque venis, fuga est et ingens
Circa te, Lagurine, solitudo
Quid sit, scire cupis? nimis poeta es.' etc.
'Vis quantum facias mali videre?
Vir justus, probus, innocens, tuncis.'

Not.

'Cætera cum bonus sis ac justus, et propter innocentiam atque probitatem expectendus, propter hanc tamen importunam recitationem te refugiant omnes carentque.'

que prædicta est. Dum enim eis gratificare velim utilia vel rara dicendo, oneri sum tenerrimis ipsorum auribus et effeminatæ patientiæ. Nec scripta mea legendo requie ac videntur afficiuntur. Quid ergo faciendum? Raro et strictim et non nisi rogatus loquendum: multa celanda, multa tacenda. Nec scripta communicanda sunt alicui nisi amicissimo. Herbertus. 'If thou be master-gunner,' [etc.] Mart. lib. vii. ep. 41. 'Occurrit' [etc.] Notæ: 'Cætera' [etc.] Et tamen est aliud vitium huic contrarium, quod tuncis

¹ The following characteristic passage appears in Mr. Bohun's essay on 'The justice of peace his calling.' 'I may justly detest their ill nature and folly who, when they meet with men of knowledge and experience, and willing to communicate both to them, envy and traduce them; and when they have nothing else to say, think to make them odious by saying they love to talk and are conceited of their own knowledge or abilities, and are proud men. Why, if all this were true, it is better to be proud of something than of nothing; and yet the last happens oftenest. Solid knowledge will make a man humble; when there is nothing so conceited as ignorance. And a communicative man is better than a close churlish nature, who values himself upon the ignorance of others; which shall never be rectified by him.' p. 145.

² 'The church porch.'

³ Farnaby's note to the passage quoted from Martial; Schrey. ed. Lugd. Bat. 1661.

Yet there is another fault, the opposite to this, with which the poet charges the stoics:

'Rarus sermo illis et magna libido tacendi.' Juv. Sat. ii.

Talkativeness is to be avoided: so also is morose and sullen silence; for very often

'In vitium ducit culpe fuga, si caret arte.' *

Unsuitable love is nearly allied to enmity. Symptoms of this kind are therefore to be guarded against, unless called forth by mutual affection. Men had rather be respected than beloved.

April 15th
Easter day.

I partook of the holy sacrament. God grant that piously, chastely, soberly, and with christian charity and humility, I may perform my vows.

16th

Genesi, xxxii. 'Voi direte al mio signore Esau,' etc. Note: 'Jacob con tutto che si sottometti a Esau, sapendo che la promessa di Dio era fatta in lui e per un poco sospesa, si contenta però de la speranza ch'egli ha de la successione futura. Perilchè non dubita ora di sottomettersi a Esau: sapendo ancora che lasciando la signoria *temporale*, la giurisdiction de la beneditione *spirituale* non gli era snimuita in niente.' "On this occasion, Esau having sold his birth-right to Jacob, the kingly authority and priesthood were first separated, never again, except in our Saviour, to be united in one person in the same right. At length, in the providence of God, the priesthood submitted in temporal matters, reserving the hope of future blessedness; for its happiness is not of this world. Jacob, therefore, is a servant now, to rule hereafter: God thus teaching his church humility, lest the order of things should be disturbed. Nor, for the same

impingit poeta: 'Rarus' [etc.] Fugienda garrulitas, fugienda morosa et tetrica taciturnitas. Nam sepiissime 'In vitium' [etc.] Prope est a similitate importunus amor. Cavenda ergo sunt indicia ejusmodi, nisi invitentur per affecta. Reverti affectant homines magis quam amari.

Aprilis xv. Die paschalis: factus sum particeps sacre communions. Deus fecit ut pie, caste, sobrie, cum charitate christiana, et humilitate, vota iusta solvam.

xvi. Genesi, xxvii. 'Direte' [etc.] Note. 'Jacob' [etc.] Regnum et sacerdotium hac vice primo separantur; Esau primogenituram suam Jacobo vendente, non quoad decem, nisi in servatore nostro, in una persona, eodem jure, coitura. Tamen, Deo sic disponente, sacerdotium in temporibus se submittit, servata future benedictionis spe, quoniam ejus felicitas non est lupus mundi. Servit ergo Jacob in hoc seculo, dominaturus futuro; Deo humilitatem ecclesie sue docente, ne rerum ordo turbetur. Nec

* L. 11. 'They dole on silence seldom speak.' Stapylton, tr.

* Hor. 'De arte poetica', 31.

* Thus even error, shunn'd without address,

Breeds error, different in its kind, not less.' Hor., etc.

* La Bibbia, con annotationi, etc. Stampato apud o. Francesco Prato. Fanno. 1701.

reason, did the Saviour desire to exercise his temporal power. Whence, then, is that proud authority of the Romish clergy and of the presbyterians, insubordinate to magistrates and imperious even in their own spiritual affairs? Assuredly neither from Christ nor from Jacob. It is not founded on nature, on the law, or on the gospel. It originated at Rome, and reappeared at Geneva.

Hebam. *

I said I liked to be alone, though I would by no means avoid society. For he who can bear solitude is also more fit to associate with others. I do not shun mankind: I can do without them. When I am alone I learn something: when in company I both learn and teach. But, being deaf and of unpolished manners, I frequently do not hear what is said, or I say something offensive to others: hence animosities. Often, for want of due watchfulness, I fall into sin: hence repentance and grief.

* *Neque enim quum lectulus, aut me
Porticus exepit, desum mihi: rectius hoc est,
Hoc faciens vivam melius: sic dulcis amicis
Occurrat, hoc quidem non belle: nam quid ego illi
Imprudens olim faciam simile? hæc ego necum
Compressis agito labris.* Hor. Sat. I, iv, 133-8.⁴

servator uti jure suo temporali voluit eadem de causa. Unde ergo ea cleri Romani et presbyteriorum superbia et magistratibus non subjecta, imo ipsis in ordine ad spiritualia imperiosa jurisdictione? Certe, nec a Christo nec a Jacobo. Non natura, non lege, non evangelio adhuc inventa est. Romam prius, deinde Genevæ revisa.

Hebam. Dixi me solum esse amare, societatem fugere aliorum: minime. Nam qui solus esse potest, et cum aliis conversari potest melius. Homines non fugio: eis carere possum. Cum solus, discō aliquid: cum sociis habeo, et discō et docerē. Cum vero surdus sum et impolitis moribus, sepius imo aut dicta non audio, aut offensum aliquod aliis adfero. Hinc similes. Non raro et incipsum non custodiendo ea cura que par est, in aliquod peccatum precipito; unde penitentia et dolor. * *Neque* [etc.] *Sermones* [etc.]

* Referring, no doubt, to a visit at Hebam hall, the ancient seat of the De La Poles, Earl of Suffolk, and afterwards of Sir John Roushart, ancestor of the Earl of Stradbroke. Elizabeth Kayvett, second wife of the first baronet, was, in common with our diarist, descended from 'that great heiress Jane Bourchier'. *Blom. Nov.* v. 157; *Suckling, Suff. Antiq.* iv, 355, 366.

* *For, whether on my couch supinely laid,
Or sauntering in the public colonnade,
Still to myself some lesson I impart,
And thus in secret commune with my heart.
Here duty points: this path to comfort tends—
Thus I may win the affections of my friends:
This or that folly be it mine to shun,
Taught by the fate of such or such an one.
—Such are my dumb soliloquies.* Howes, tr.

Therefore I wish to have companions and friends; but not many; and such as can bear with my faults, as I with theirs. If I have them not, I shall not seek them, except such as are dead, those who teach without speaking, who reprove and may be censured without shame or anger.^a

Herbert.

'By all means use sometimes to be alone;
Salute thyself: see what thy soul doth wear;
Dare to look in thy chest, for 'tis thine own;
And tumble up and downe what thou find'st there.
Who cannot rest till hee good fellows finde,
He breakes up house, turnes out of doors his mind.'^b
'Tecum habita: noris quam sit tibi curta supellex.'^c

April 16th.

I have observed that some persons, aiming at peace and compromise, or under such a pretext, injure others. For while, by delay or persuasion, they bring the obstinate willingly to do what is right, the innocent are punished with every annoyance or are compelled to forego their rights. This kind of injustice, I think, should be carefully avoided by all; but especially by magistrates, for the power of compulsion is not given to them in vain. Not that I would pronounce a short delay, on this score, to be mischievous; but its excess. Assuredly justice should be denied to none;

amicos velim; at non multos, et qui vitia mea ferre possunt, ut et ego illorum. Si non habeo, non queram, nisi sunt mortui, qui docent sine voce, reprehendunt et repeliendunt sine mutuo rubore vel ira. Herbert: 'By all means use' [etc.] 'Tecum habita:' [etc.]

XIX. Observavi quosdam, pacis et pacifice compositionis studio aut saltem pretextu, injuriam aliis facere; dum enim obstinatos mora aut persuasionibus ad voluntarium justitiam ducunt, innocentes damnis quoad plurimum afficiuntur aut jure suo cedere coguntur. Hanc ergo speciem injustitiæ cavendam maxime existimo in omnibus; præcipue vero in magistratibus, utpote quibus potestas cogendi non frustra data. Nec tamen moram brevem hac de causa datam imputarem ut injuriosam, sed nimiam. Certe justitiam nemini negare licet; at vero qui nimis procrastinat quodammodo negat. Ideoque magi-

^aThe animated language of Richard de Bury is well known: 'Illi sunt magistri qui nos instruunt sine virgis et ferula, sine verbis et colera, sine pane et pecunia. Si accedis non dormiunt: si inquire, non se abscondunt: non remurmurant, si oberres: cachinnos nesciunt, si ignores.' 'Philobiblon.' According to Mr. Bohun's notions there was no lack, even in his day, of those patient friends and instructors. 'The age we live in,' he observes, 'is full of learning: books have fallen so thick in all places that they have not escaped the soft hands of ladies nor the hard fists of mechanics and tradesmen.' 'The justice of peace his calling', p. 23.

^b'The church porch.'

^cPers. Sat. iv, 52. 'To your own breast in search of worth repair,
And blush to find how poor a stock is there.' Gifford, tr.

but he who delays it too long does, in a manner, deny it. Therefore I consider that procrastination ought the more to be guarded against, because it carries with it an air of benevolence, which imposes on the wise and blinds them to true justice. While they seem to follow peace they destroy their own peace, that of others, and of the public. For it is for the public good to put an end to disputes, and that as quickly as possible. We must not err, indeed, by too much haste. But there are some who may be compelled though they cannot be persuaded, and who have no greater pleasure than to concoct delays; by means of which, some time or other, or of the weariness they occasion, they may defeat the innocent.^a

Too much haste is also to be avoided. For every thing is clear to him who does not hurry, obscure and confused to him who does. Well done is twice done; and he who proceeds uprightly and cautiously, though slowly, acts quickly enough.^b I am of too ardent a temperament and liable to this failing. Hence some have warned me not to be too eager to act. Certainly, while I have studied to assist our government and church in their danger, I have fallen into some mistakes, and have damaged my own interests perhaps more than I have benefited the public. It is a very good rule of De Cartes that nothing should ever be admitted as true but what is known, certainly and clearly, to be true. That is, that all undue haste and prejudging should be carefully avoided, and that no more should be inferred

^a De la methode,

p. 11

cavendam existimo, quod speciem quandam benevolentie pre se fert, que sapientibus imponit, et cecis ad veram justitiam ellicit. Dumque pacem sectari viderentur, perdunt et suam et alienam et publicam. Interest enim reipublice ut sit finis litium, et ut quam primum sit. Modo nimia festinatione non peccatur. Sunt vero qui cogi possunt, persuaderi non possunt, quique nihil aliud deprecantur ne moras necesse: quibus opitulantiibus tandem, aliquando, vel saltem tedio et lassitudine, vincant innocentes.

Cavenda est et nimia festinatio. Omnia enim plana et manifesta non festinanti, ceca et confusa aliter agenti. His factum quod bene factum est; quique recte et prudenter agit, quamquam interposita mora aliqua, satis cito agit. Ego vero ingenii nimis calidi sum, huicque vitio obnoxius. Hinc me monuerunt quidam ne nimis ad agendum promptus sim. Certe dum reipublice et ecclesie precitanti opulari studui, in errores quosdam lapsus; mihi ipsi nocui et rebus privatis meis plus forsan quam publicis profui. Optima ergo Cartesi regula, (*De metho.* pag. 11) ut nihil veluti verum nunquam admitteretur nisi quod recte et evidenter verum esse cognoscitur. Hoc est, ut omnem precipitantiam atque anticipationem in judicando diligentissime vitaretur; nihilque amplius conclusione

^a In 'The character of queen Elizabeth,' p. 224, Mr. Bohun remarks: 'the distributing mercy and justice with prudence is the hardest task a prince has; and in truth there is none but God that can pretend to do it always well. . . . It is better, generally speaking, to be too merciful, than too severe; but when it is known once that a man will be so, it ruins more than it can save; and too much expects the innocent.'

^b 'The impatient man is at the end of his business before he is well entered into it; and by making too much haste is the longer before he can end it. A great man used to say, stay a little and we shall have done the sooner.' 'The justice of peace his calling,' p. 36.

than that which is so distinctly made obvious to one's reason that it cannot again by possibility become a matter of doubt. But if so much care and caution be needful in a philosophical speculation, where error may be harmless, how much more in deciding questions and disputes where by mistaking we may injure both ourselves and others.

Akin to this is the rule, to speak considerately, and patiently to wait one's turn to reply. A certain person has well remarked¹ that the injunction of the apostle appeared to him especially to befit a judge: 'Let every man be swift to hear, slow to speak, slow to wrath.' St. James, i, 19.

'A habit of secrecy is both politic and moral.' Sir Francis Bacon, Essay vi.⁴

ANON 290b

ANON 181b
p. 108.

The sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt was only of two hundred and ten years' duration, as Louis Capel has shown in his '*Chronologia sacra*.'⁵ Sixty-two of them, under the protection of Joseph, they spent in prosperity. Nor did their oppression begin suddenly after his death. More probably about the time of the birth of Moses, that is, in the fifty-eighth year after Joseph's death, or thereabout. God, no doubt, having so ordained lest, if that oppression had

completeretur quam quod tam clare et distincte rationi meae pateret ut nullo modo in dubium posset revocari. Si vero tanta cura et cautione speculationi philosophica, ubi errare sine damno possumus opus est, quanta majori et exactiori in res et lites finiundo, ubi et aliis et nobis ipsis nocuus errando.

Hinc alius est et regula de considerate loquendo et patienter vicem meam respondendi attendendo. Optum, ergo, quidam (Sir William Scroggs) dixit videri sibi eam apostoli regulam (Sti. Jacobi, i, 19. 'Sit omnis homo velox ad audiendum, tardus (*phrôdes*) ad loquendum, tardus ad iram', maxime judici convenire. 'A habit' [etc.]

XXVIII. Peregrinatio Israelitarum in Egypto fuit tantum annorum cex; ut probavit Ludo, Capella *Chronologia sua sacra*. Eorum LXII sub protectione Josephi in prosperitate egerunt; nec oppressionem subito post mortem ejus incepisse. Verisimile at potius circa nativitatem Moysi, hoc est anno ab ejus morte LXVII^{ve} vel circa. Ita nimirum Deo providente, ne oppressione ista omnino diu pauci erant

¹ 'Speech by Sir William Scroggs,' in October 1676, 'at his admission to the place of one of his majesty's justices of the court of common pleas.' Lond. 1676, fol. The same passage is quoted by Mr. Bohun in '*The justice of peace his culling*,' p. 131, where, among 'public qualifications' for that office, he mentions 'an aversion to irregular heats.' The loyalty of the speech was extolled at court, and the king was asked to have it printed and published in all the market towns of England. *Clar. Corr.* i, 2. Scroggs, unhappily, proved himself no pattern of the moderation which he recommended. He is remarkable for having suddenly discharged the grand jury who were about to present the Duke of York as a papist. In some respects he bore an inglorious resemblance to Jeffreys. Addressing the author of an antipapal book, which had been duly licensed, he said he would 'fill all the gaols in England with such rogues, and pile them up as men do faggots!' His conduct was voted by the house of commons a high breach of the liberty of the subject, and he was removed from his office in April 1681.

⁴ Of simulation and dissimulation.

⁵ Reprinted by bishop Walton in the prolegomena to his polyglot bible.

come upon them while few in number, they should have been crushed and extirpated; which after they had become numerous was more difficult. Exod. i, 7.

Ann. 20th.

p. 185

C. de leg. ii, 8, 12

Feasts of the
church.

I read a chapter of the learned John Conrad Dieterle^a on the festivals of the Jews. At the end of which he has noticed that there was no less devoutness among the heathen, in celebrating their festivals, than among the Jews. He has quoted from Cicero this law of the Romans, 'Festorum diurnum ratio in liberis quietem habet litium, in servis operum et laborum';^b observing that criers, throughout the city, ordered the citizens to rest from their domestic employments; and that the Greeks fined Ctesides because, when taking part in a procession at the festival of Bacchus, he had beaten one of his enemies with a whip which he carried; etc. Hence we may deplore the *ârağlar*^c of our age, and the perverted zeal of those to whom nothing seems so religious as to profane the sacred, appointed, regularly recurring, ancient festivals, to pollute fasts by sumptuous feasting, feasts by fasting. Holy and peaceable men! in whom zeal for religion is excited by opposition only; a feverish and morbid zeal, more like to the fermentation of liquors than to religion or conscience. Well indeed has a certain learned man

Rycaut,

1680

remarked, that the Greek church, though in a state of wretched slavery and ignorance under the Turks, preserved 'the christian faith by the strict observation of the feasts and fasts' of their church.^d And hence, its weakness, in our age and country, we may conjecture, in part arises from the above cause.

opprimerentur et extirparentur; quod postquam multiplicati fuerint difficilior erat. Exod. i, 7.

XXIX. *Festa ecclesie.* Perlegi cap. doctissimi J. C. Dieterlei de festis Judaeorum in fine cuius devotionem ethnicorum in festis suis celebrandis annotavit non minus quam Judaeorum. Ex Cicero hanc legem deprompsit Romanum: 'Festorum' [etc.], parones per urbem, quiescere cives et ab operibus domesticis desistere jussit; Græcos Ctesidem multasse quod, cum interesset pompæ Bacchi festo, sentina quam gestabat, quendam inimicorum suorum verberasset; et plura. Hinc de plorare licet ætatis nostræ *ârağlar* et preposterum zelum quibus nihil æque religiosum videtur, ac festa sacra, statuta, recurrentia, antiqua, tenera, jejuniis pulvis lautissimis, festa jejuniis, polluere. O sancti et pacifici viri! quibus ex contradictione fervor religiosus tantummodo excitatur; ut febrilis, morbosus, fermentationi liquorum quam religioni aut conscientie similior. Optime, hercule, observavit doctissimus quidam Græcorum ecclesiam, misera et servitute et ignorantia oppressam sub Turcis, exacta et stricta observatione festorum et jejuniorum ecclesie sue Christianam religionem conservasse. (Rycaut, page 80.) Et hinc ejus in nostro seculo et patria debilitatem conjectare valemus ex parte oriri.

^a This learned German divine was born at Butzbach 1612, died 1669. His '*Antiquitates biblicæ*' was a posthumous publication.

^b 'The design of festivals requires a cessation by freemen from strife, and by slaves from labour.'

^c Confusion, licentiousness.

^d 'For having rarely the helps of catechism or sermons, they learn yet from these outward ceremonies some confused notions and precepts of religion, and exercise with severity and labour this sort of devotion, when, through custom, confusion, and scarcity of knowing guides, all other service is become obsolete and forgotten amongst them.' '*Present state of the Ottoman empire*,' Lond. 1668, fol.

MAY 18.

Mark ix, 33

Ambition.

When our Saviour's disciples, debating in the way τὴν μέγαν,^j were asked by him of what they were disputing, ἐσώπων.^k Conscious, doubtless, of unlawful ambition and pride. When he inculcated humility by the example of a child, they craftily attempted to turn the discourse by an account of a certain man. But in vain; for having answered them, he reverts to the subject; and by the fear of hell, ὅπου ὁ σχώληξ αὐτῶν οὐ τελευτᾷ καὶ τὸ πῶρ οὐ σβέννεται,^l thrice repeated, he strikes and cuts this tumour, as with a lancet, endeavouring to cure the obstinate disease with knife and fire^m: likening the plucking out this deadly shaft to the loss of an eye, a hand, or a foot. O how great and dreadful the distemper to which this gentle physician hath deemed it necessary to apply both knife and fire! Not content even with this, he adds, 'salt,' so efficacious, penetrating, cleansing, purifying, albeit not without pain, whatever is sprinkled with it, living or dead. With good reason, therefore, and very weightily, he concludes, ἔχετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἄλας, καὶ ἐφραδέτε ἐν ἀλλήλοις.ⁿ For without this 'salt' neither mutual charity nor peace can be expected.

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I read the 'Victimæ humanæ' of James Gensius, divine and physician, a Frisian; compiled with immense labour and varied reading. In which book may be seen, as in a mirror, the wretched and abominably slavish condition of our fathers under that implacable tyrant the devil. My mind is horror-struck as I read of the delusions and cruel bondage which that φονεὺς καὶ ψεύστης^p imposed upon them. How

MAR. I. *Ambitio.* Contententibus Servatoris nostri discipulis in via τὴν μέγαν et interrogati ab ipso de quo disputabant, ἐσώπων. Mar. ix, 33. Consilii nimirum illicitæ ambitionis et superbiæ. Ipso vero exemplo pueri primo humilitatem eis inculcanti, historia ejusdam alio divertere ab hoc argumento calide aggrediuntur. At frustra; responso enim dato revertitur et timore gehennæ ὅπου [etc.] ter repetito hunc tumorem tanquam lancea verberat eoque, obstinatum morbum ferro et igne mædri tentans; oculi, manus, pedis privationi assimulans evulsionem hujus lethalis arundinis. O quantus et qualis morbus, quem ferro et igni dignissimum mitis hic medicus judicavit! Imo, nec his contentus, saltem adiecit; ejus maxima activa vis est, penetrans, mundans, purificans, at non sine dolore, quicquid eo conspergitur, non vivens tantum sed et mortuum. Merito ergo et gravissime concludit, ἔχετε [etc.] Sine sale enim hoc nec mutua charitas aut pax expectanda est.

v. Perlegi Jacobi Gensii theologi et medici Frisii Victimæ humanas; summo labore et multiplici lectione collectas. Quo libro, tanquam speculo, miseram et detestabilem antecessorum nostrorum conditionem et servitutem sub tyranno illo implacabili diabolo, contemplari licet. Horret animus dum præstigias et erudeles servitutes quas iis imposuit is hominum φονεὺς καὶ ψεύστης legendo recolo.

^j 'Who should be the greatest.'^k 'They held their peace.'^l 'Where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.'^m Or cautery.ⁿ 'Have salt in yourselves, and have peace one with another.'^p 'Victimæ humanæ gentilium; opus complectens modos, ceremonias, et tempora quibus olim homines diis suis immolabant, et humanam sanguinem libabant.' Groning. 1675, 12mo. Amst. 1691. 'Dissertation difficile à trouver.' Brunet.^r 'Murderer and liar.'

much then do we owe to our Saviour, who hath redeemed us and freed us, by his blood, from this grievous and dreadful tyranny, and hath called us to the liberty of the sons of God; who hath brought life and immortality to light by his gospel and driven away these deadly shades of demons! How much to the apostles and ancient martyrs, who, at the peril of their blood, have reclaimed us and our fathers from the foulest errors! To the triune God be glory, honour, and reverence for ever. Amen, amen.

MOSES 7th.

Exodus, vii, 23.

When Moses struck the river and waters of Egypt and turned them into blood, 'Pharone si rivoltò ed andò a casa sua, e non messe punto il cuor suo a questo.'⁹ Surely that wonderful, terrible, and deserved transformation

showed its own origin; the water, as it were, attributing its change to the children's blood with which, under the edict, it had been polluted. But that cruel and senseless tyrant, though he could not escape the strokes of divine vengeance, would not attend and consider. So that by his stupid disregard he called down still heavier calamities upon himself and his people. Hence we may learn that nothing so much provokes God, the father of mercy, as not to regard and consider his judgments. Well did the psalmist say, 'His dignam ipsorum meritis solve

Psal. xxviii, 4, 5.

mercedem, qui Jove facta et manuum opera non perpendant; icebro pecum a stirpe evertendi.'¹⁰

cum a stirpe evertendi.'¹¹

Dion Cass. lib. xlv,
page 290

Τοὺς συγγενεῖς πάντας, πλὴν τῶν ἀνοσιωτάτων ἰσχυρῶς ἠγάπησιν, οὔτε γὰρ ἐστευχήσαντά τινα αὐτῶν ὑπερβῆεν, οὔτε ἐστευχήσαντά τινα ἐθρόνησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς τοῖς πρὸ ὑπάρχοντα συνεπηξέουσι, καὶ ἐκείνοις τα ἐλλείποντα ἀνεπλήρωσι.* This truly is great praise; for, why it is I know not, but, for

Quantum ergo debemus Servatori nostro qui sanguine suo nos redemit et emancipavit ex hac luctuosa et horribili tyrannide, et ad libertatem filiorum Dei vocavit, per evangelium suum vitam et immortalitatem revelavit, et has mortificas demonum umbras discussit! Quantum apostolis et antiquis martyribus qui, sanguinis sui periculo, nos et patres nostros a fœdissimis his erroribus revocarunt! Deo trino et uno in æternum sit gloria, honor, et reverentia. Amen, amen.

vii. Cum percussisset Moses flumina et aquas Ægypti et in sanguinem convertisset, 'Pharone' [etc.] Mutato certe ista et mirabilis et terribilis et merita causam suam manifestavit; se quasi mutatum aieus ob eadem puerorum qua pollutum edicto illo fuisset. At ille crudelis et stupidus tyrannus, cum verbera vindictæ divinæ effugere non valuit, advertere et considerare noluit. Quia sua stupida inconsideratione plurimas et graviores calamitates super se et populos suos devocavit. Hinc dicamus nihil zeque Deum, misericordie patrem, provocare ac iudicia sua non advertere, non considerare. Optime psalmista: 'His' [etc.]

Τοὺς συγγενεῖς [etc.] Egregia hæc vero laus est; unde sit necesse, et plerumque cognatos nostros

⁹ La Bibbia, 1562. See above, p. 7.

¹⁰ Bibl. Castal. 1551. * Render to them their desert; because they regard not the works of the Lord nor the operation of his hands, he shall destroy them and not build them up.'

¹¹ He heartily loved all his relatives, except the most disreputable of them; neither neglecting any of them in misfortune, nor envying the prosperous. the latter he congratulated on their possessions, and the wants of the former he supplied.'

the most part, we neglect our own kindred in adversity more than those who are not allied to us by blood. But yet, when their affairs turn out as they wish, we are so prone and accustomed to envy them that it is always looked for. And when it happens otherwise, as it sometimes, though seldom, does, all men wonder. Whence is this indifference towards our own kindred, but from pride? We dread being surpassed by those beneath us, or despised by those of our own standing, or by our superiors. So *φιλαυτία*¹ in various forms, sports with our circumstances; and while it suffers us to love ourselves too much, does not permit us to regard others, even our nearest relatives, at all.

M. C. SUR I read 'Les mémoires des intrigues de la cour de Rome depuis l'année 1669 jusques en 1676'; in which are graphically depicted the frauds, cunning, vengeance, and injustice of that court, then tottering to its fall, if God, in his inscrutable providence, had not sustained it. Meanwhile, having nearly lost its respect and power, it leads a dying life, restless, with all the maladies of old age, a burden to itself and others. The pontiffs, who formerly filled the world and their own dependents with so much terror, now permit themselves to be ruled by their relatives; who have scarcely any other object than the recruiting their worn out fortunes; and meanwhile often crush princes, the state, the nobility, and even the clergy, with the most serious wrongs. From this cause, undoubtedly, when God shall see fit, we must look for the end and destruction of this machine. Certainly many histories represent the same practices to have been ruinous to kings.

III. With great pleasure, in these delightful days, I read 'Les histoires des grands vizirs, Mahomet et Achmet Coproglu, bachas,' etc.² of whom the last, now prime minister of the Turkish monarchy, is certainly a person who would do honour to

magis negligimus adversitate, quam eos qui omnino nobis sanguine non sunt conjuncti. At vero his rebus suis ex voto fluentibus invidere tam proclive est et usitatum ut ubique expectatur; et cum rarius at aliquando aliter exiit omnium admiratione prosequitur. At unde hac nostra immunitas in cognatos nostros nisi ex superbia, dum metuissemus ne ab iis quos infra nos vidimus superiorem; aut ab aequalibus aetatis contemptui habeamur, aut denique a superis despiciamur? Sic *φιλαυτία*, variis vestita formis, rebus in nostris ludit, et dum nos ipsos nimium omnes alios, imo conjunctissimos, nimium amare patitur.

VIII. Perlegi 'Les mémoires' [etc.] quo graphice depictæ sunt fraudes, astutiae, vindictæ, et injustitiæ ejus cuius ad interitum vergentis, nisi Deus, ex providentia sibi nota, sustineret. Interim, amissa maxima et reverentiæ et potestatis parte, vitam agit moribundam, turbidam, et omnibus secretis morbis gravem et sibi et aliis. Pontifices qui quondam tanto cum terrore mundum suosque denique habuerunt, nunc seipsos a nepotibus suis regi permissos; qui nihil aliud fore attendunt quam repletionem famuliæ fortunæ; interimque principes, rempublicam, nobilitatem, eorumque ipsam, gravissimis injuriis supissime atterunt. Hinc sine dubio, cum Deus voluerit, finem et interitum hujus machine expectandum. Certe eandem rem exitabilem fuisse regibus, historie multe memorant.

XI. Maxima cum voluptate perlegi et his dictis serenissimis, 'Les hi-toires' [etc.] quorum postremus et jam supremus Turcicæ monarchiæ minister vir certe meliori fide et religione dignus; tanta

¹ Self-love. ² By De St. George Guy Guillet, 1676, 12mo: translated by Evelyn, Lond. 1677, 8vo

a better faith; endowed with such prudence, faithfulness, justice, patience, and industry as might justly shame the christian world; inferior to no one of his nation unless it be his father. But how different is this court from its Roman predecessor! Here all things are hindered or hastened, by bloodshed, dissension, tyranny, violence, and indescribable tumult, and seem to be driven along by hurricanes and furious winds, like a ship overwhelmed by storm; they are not very unlike the infernal government to which they are subject. But the Roman court is subtle, refined, soothing those whom it deceives, by fraud, by procrastination, by soft and fruitless words; while it rules the world by a kind of fascination, chiefly, if not solely, under the pretext of religion.

Antiq. Libd.
p. 191.

May 12th.

Commissioners.

Again I am left out of the commission of the peace for this county; many private gentlemen being put in, and the two Bedingfields, father and son, forsooth, being nominated; the result of the insatiable revenge of certain persons accustomed to make every thing bend to their own malice and cowardice. I feel myself injured, not in my estate, but in my honour, and particularly as to my opportunities of doing good to others. On this account I am sorry. But at the same time, I thankfully acknowledge that my peace is consulted, and that I

prudencia, fidelitate, justitia, patientia, industriaque praeditus, ut Christianae orbis pudorem merito audiet, nemini ejus nationis secundus nisi patri soli. At ea curia quantum a superiori Romana distat! The omnia sanguine, dissidentia, tyrannide, vi, motuque dictu difficili morantur, praecipitantur; turbulibus et furiosissimis ventis, in modum navis tempestate oppressa, acta esse videntur; nec multum a regimine infernali cui servitutem praestant, distant. Romana, vero, subtilis, polita, mora, fraude, procrastinatione, dulcissimis verbis, at effectu carentibus; demulcens quos decipit; fascinationeque quadam regit orbem terrarum praetextu religionis solo, vel saltem summo.

XII. *Commissioners.* Ex numero questorum hujus comitatus iterum exclusus sum; multis privatis generosis inductis, et duobus Bedingfieldis, patre et filio scilicet, nominatis; operante vindicta insatiabili quorundam qui malitiae suae et timori omnia parentare consueverunt. Lasum me sentio, at honore meo, non rebus; privatim opportunitate bene alius facienda; et hinc doleo. At simul quietis meae consultum esse, neque a multis simultatibus gravissimis mihi independentibus erutum gratanter agnosco.

John Bedingfield esq. a cadet of the ancient house of that name, brother of Philip Bedingfield esq. of Ditchingham, Norfolk, and of Sir Thomas Bedingfield one of the judges of the common pleas, and himself a counsellor and justice of the peace, was born 1595,



and was buried at Halesworth, 28th May 1680. Among his children were Edmund Bedingfield of Halesworth esq. who was the 'son' mentioned in the text, and Sir Henry Bedingfield knt. whose name occurs afterward in the present diary. The achievement of John Bedingfield is conspicuous upon an ancient carved mantel-piece which forms part of the decorations transferred, a few years ago, from the mansion of the Bedingfields at Halesworth to the library of the Rev. Samuel Blois Turner of that place. The interesting relics which were thus

worthily rescued from neglect and decay are engraved and described in the Rev. Alfred Suckling's 'Antiquities of Suffolk,' ii, 335-337.

am rescued from a great deal of grievous enmity which threatened me.* It is reported that Sir J. P.² has been the means of excluding me, by stating, at the sessions, that I am of a quarrelsome temper and wont to create disturbances among my associates. This is impossible; for what is one against many? But he is conscious of the injustice and afraid of incurring a righteous retribution.

MO 1334 The use made of religion with regard to civil society is two-fold. The one genuine; when, by the fear of God, men are taught to obey kings and to lead a quiet, sober, useful life, in all piety and uprightness. The other perverted; when, under pretence of it, subjects are drawn away from the obedience due to princes, and to

Pana est s. i. v. re exclusisse hac ratione, viz. affirmando in concessu me turbidi esse ingenii sociosque meos turbare solitos [solitum?]. At hoc impossibile est; qui enim unus ad plures? At conscius est sibi injustitie et metuit ne posthinc aequali litaretur.

xiii. Religio in tuenda civili societate duplex usus. Alter genuinus; cum scil. homines timore Dei erudiantur obedire regibus et quietam, modestam, utilem, degere vitam cum omni pietate et honestate. Alter corruptus; cum ejus pretextu sediti ab obedientia principibus debita abstrahantur, dam

* In the preface to 'The justice of peace his calling,' Mr. Bohun observes that 'those good justices of the peace who are most active and cheerful in their places are not always either the richest and greatest or the best beloved and most favored by the rest. . . . There are, too frequently, combinations made to cross and quash whatever they shall propose, be it never so just and reasonable; and nothing alleged for it, but that they are mean, proud, basic people, and will perk up too much above their betters, if they be not thus mortified and kept under. This is the worst sort of respect of persons.' And he makes a request to the judges and ministers of state, that they would 'sometimes inquire into this, and, without regard to the fortunes or titles of men, support and encourage the more useful, if occasion so require, against the more potent.' Mr. Bohun was not long excluded from the magistracy: probably the omission of his name, as well as its cause, was merely a matter of report. It appears by the court rolls of the manor of Westhall that he acted as a justice of peace, 11th June 1675. In that year, Wood says, 'he was made one of the commissioners of the peace for the county of Suffolk, and continued so till the second of King James II, and then he was discharged.' *Ath. Oxon. ed. Bliss, iii, 217.*

* It is uncertain whether the name intended by these initials was that of Sir John Playters of



John Playters.

Sotterley. He was, at the above date, a leading magistrate in the district. His name and those of several of his fellow justices occur in the following order in the list of trustees of the guild

erected at Breeles, 1680: Sir John Playters, Sir Henry Bacon, Sir John Rous, barts.; Sir Thomas Medowe knt.; Edward North, Thomas Allen, William Gooch, Edmund Bedingfield, Edmund Bohun, Thomas Bedingfield, Lionell Playters, Charles Bloys, and Thomas Lemm, esqs. (Breeles feculent charity monuments.)

give themselves up to ambitious men wearing a mask of piety, to become agents of tumult and wickedness. Even by their own rulers they are invested with false and delusive appearances of religion, in order that they may be the more subservient. By which artifice religion is made to pander to the wicked devices of men; but commonly to their own destruction; for God avenges the violated honour of the heavenly maiden, with the utmost severity, both in this world and in the next. See 'Antiquitates biblicæ,' p. 192.⁷

Mss 15th. I read 'Athènes ancienne et nouvelle,' etc. by M. de la Guilletière.⁸ A book compiled with very great care and study, full of philology, antiquities, the most correct geography, and christian and Turkish customs, beautifully arranged, but written in a rugged style. This work furnishes frequent occasion for lamenting that so great and excellent a part of Christendom is oppressed by a tyranny as malicious as it is unfortunate, that barbarism now reigns in that small spot once the most refined part of the whole world, and that it now sighs not less under the inroads and annoyances of the Jesuits than under the cruel yoke of the infidels. There exist however some remains of its ancient learning as well as of its very splendid architecture.

16th. I went to our nearest gaol,⁹ to give bail for Mr. John Hacket,¹⁰ a clergyman long and wretchedly oppressed. While he wrote the recognizance with his own

ambitiosis quibusdam larvæ pietatis tectis, ministros sese præbent tumultuum et seditionum. Vel a regibus suis, falsis et delusivis ejus apparentiis inbuntur, quo devotiones sibi essent: qua versutia religio ancillatur malis artibus hominum; at plerumque eum eorum perditione; Deo vindicante hujus cælestis virginis raptum et prostitutum honorem summa severitate et hoc et altero mundo. Vide 'Antiquitates biblicæ,' p. 192.

xv. Perlegi 'Athènes' [etc.] librum certe summa cura et studio collectum, philologia, antiquitatibus, geographiâ exactissima, ethologia Christiana et Turcica repletum, ordine et methodo dispositum pulcherrimo at stilo aspero. Hic dantur occasiones quamplurimas legendi servitutem tanti et tam excellentis partis Christiani orbis sub tyrannide tam infesta quam infausta; barbaricæque jam regnantem in ea particula politissimâ olim totius mundi, jamque suspirantem non minus sub incursione et molestiis Jesuitarum quam sub crudeli jugo infidelium. Reliquæ tamen quedam antiquæ eruditionis extant, non minus quam splendidissima architecturæ.

xvi. Ad proximum nostrum carcerem concessi ut Dom. Jo. Hacket, clericum misere oppressum et diu, viderem. Ipso vadimonium scribente, incarcerationis exhibendi gratia invisi eos meque ad omnia

⁷ The passage in Dietrich relates to the usurper Jeroboam. 1 Kings, xii, 26-28.

⁸ Paris, 1675, 8vo. The work appeared in an English dress, as 'An account of a late voyage to Athens, with an account of ancient and new Athens,' Lond. 1676, 8vo.

⁹ Probably at Blithburgh. The 'jail-house' of that once flourishing town was standing in 1754, when Gardner published his 'Account of Dunwich, Blithburgh,' etc. but probably fell into disuse after the building of the house of correction at Beccles in 1680. Gardner, p. 120; Stukling, Suff. antiq. i, 183.

¹⁰ The extensive Suffolk collections of the late David Elisha Davy esq. did not enable him to furnish

hand, I for the sake of cheering the prisoners visited them and gave up myself to all kinds of jokes. They lifted up their hands and eyes as if wondering, nay astounded, at my wit. The chief flatterer, the gaoler, in order that he might wheedle me out of my money, praised every thing I said. This flattery greatly pleased me for the time. Yet I bantered him severely. The others I spared, for I would not pain the miserable. As I returned I better considered what I had done, and I abhor my own folly. For I am of a disposition by no means merry and but little inclined 'acutis naribus horum hominum,' and to that which 'rideri possit.'^c Hence I learn how bitter and penetrating is the poison of flattery, breaking forth every where and insinuating itself, like an infection, into the inmost recesses of the heart. I am indebted, for my soundness, to Juvenal, who thus sang of the Greek flatterer:

'A facie jactare manus, laudare paratus,
Si bene ructavit, si rectum inuixit amicus.'^d

He has graphically depicted our gaoler. For the future, by God's help, I will guard against delusions of this kind.

'Invidia in oculo, adulatio in aperto.'^e Tac. Hist. iv. Gouv. de Venise, 339.

jocorum genera relaxavi. Manus oculosque sustulerant tanquam ingenium meum mirantes, imo stupentes. Præcipuus gnatho-ergastulianus, ut pecuniam meam callide laceret, quicquid dixerim laudavit. Palpatio free mihi maxime pro tempore placebat, tamen acerbissime in eum lusi: peperci aliis, enim ne gravarem miseros. Revertens, melius consideravi quid fecissem; detestorque stultitiam meam. Sum enim ingenui nimium jocos et minus apti 'acutis naribus horum hominum,' et quod 'rideri possit.' Hinc disco quam acerbam et penetrans sit assentationis virus, seutens in omnibus locis et ad intima præcordia sese insinuans, tanquam quedam contagio. 'Pessimum' [etc.] Sanitatem autem meam Juvenali debeo qui Græculum assentantem sic cernit: 'A facie' [etc.] Carceratium nostrum depinxit graphicęque coloribus exhibuit. In posterum, Deo juvante, hujusmodi delusiones cavebo. 'Invidia' [etc.]

any certain information respecting this clergyman. Mr. Davy suggested, however, that the person mentioned was probably a son of John Hacket, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry. The bishop died in 1679. He was twice married, and had many children. (Wood, Ath. Oxon. ed. Bliss, iv, 826.) One of his wives was Elizabeth sister of Henry Stobbing of Wissett, near Halesworth, who appears, further on, as a personal friend of our diarist.

* Cap. xli. 'Those worst of enemies, the dealers in panegyric.' Murphy, tr.

^c Hor. Sat. i, iii, 29, 30. The poet is insisting on the duty we owe our friends of pardoning their little failings and peculiarities, especially if they be possessed of talents and moral worth. By our diarist the phrases quoted appear to be applied in a rather different manner, to convey the idea that a keen sense of the ludicrous and a disposition to fun were not congenial with his natural taste.

^d Juv. Sat. iii, 166, 167.

'At deeds of shame their hands admiring raise.' Gifford, tr.

^e 'They murmured in private, and spoke aloud the language of flattery.' Murphy, tr.

MAI 17th. *Μὴ ἔχόντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἀποδεῶναι ἀμφοτέροις ἔχαρίσατο.*^f Luke vii, 42. Truly, so it is; we are all debtors and insolvent; not equally, perhaps, but he who owes least is unable to pay. He of his own mere mercy and goodness ἀμφοτέροις ἔχαρίσατο and has changed the debt of punishment and guilt into a debt of love and obedience. Debtors, therefore, and discharged! And yet not solvent; for who pays these as he ought? Give Thou what I owe, that I may pay; for I have nothing of my own wherewith to blot out my obligations of any kind.

‘Il est malséant à des jeunes gens de vouloir s’enquérir de l’institution des loix et d’en demander les raisons.’^g In this respect, perhaps, I have too often transgressed, while, with too much of the ardour of youth, I have rashly condemned what I did not understand. Well did Plato say, ‘Hæc una inter ceteras præstantissima lex ne juvenum cuiquam fas sit in leges inquirere.’^h ‘Si enim,’ as Tacitus remarks, ‘querere singulis liceat, pericula obsequio, etiam imperium intercidit.’ⁱ The laws, although bad, are to be treated with the greatest respect, lest we teach others lightly to esteem the best of them and to overturn authority. Nor ought we to publish the defects of the laws so far as we are able; for by the fear of them many are kept from mischief, who, when once they have found out how to evade punishment, boldly insult them. Our respect is due, in the next place, to the customs and received institutions of our country; and lastly, to old

Histoire du
gouvernement
de Venise, p. 485.
De leg. lib. i

‘Nulla lex satis com-
moda omnibus est: id
modo queritur si na-
turi parti et in sum-
mam protest.’ Liv.
lib. xxxiv, p. 268.

XVII. *Μὴ ἔχόντων* [etc.] Ita mehercule est: omnes debitores sumus et insolventes; forsam non ex æquo, at qui minus debet non solutioni par est. Ipse ex mera sua misericordia et bonitate ἀμφοτέροις ἔχαρίσατο, debitumque pene et reatus in debitum amoris et obedientie mutavit. Debitores ergo et soluti! Nec jam solventes. Quis enim hæc ut debet solvit? Da quod debes, ut solvam. Nihil enim quod meum est habeo quo debita mea cuiuscunque generis expungam.

‘Il est malséant,’ [etc.] Hæc forsam in re scilicet periculi dum nimio juvenutis ardore temerarie que non intelligenda nigro carbone notavi. Optime ergo Plato, ‘Hæc una’ [etc.] ‘Si enim’ (ut Tacitus) ‘querere’ [etc.] (‘Nulla’ [etc.]) Maxima ergo reverentia tractande sunt leges quamquam male; ne alios optime flores pendere doceamus et imperium evectere. Nec defectus legum sunt divulgandi in quantum possumus; multi enim terrore earum a malo retinentur; qui cum semel evasionem pene invenierint intrepide insultant eis. Proxima reverentia debetur consuetudinibus et moribus receptis patrie

^f ‘And when they had nothing to pay he frankly forgave them both.’

^g ‘It is indecency and too much forwardness in young men to inquire into the institution of their laws and demand reasons for them.’ Tr. p. 115.

^h ‘This, among others, is a most excellent law, that no young man should discuss the laws.’

ⁱ Hist. l. lxxxiii, in the speech of Otho to the soldiers: ‘If every subaltern may discuss the operations of war, and civil with the commander in chief, subordination ceases, discipline is at an end, and the best concerted enterprise may be defeated.’ Murphy, tr.

^k ‘No law perfectly suits the convenience of every member of the community. the only consideration is, whether, on the whole, it be profitable to the greater part.’ Baker, tr.

age. For although young and old are companions and equals with us, yet in that equality some deference at least is due to the aged, even when they act with manifest injustice, much more when their conduct is merely imprudent or disagreeable. For the experience of many years brings wisdom and, as it were, extorts reverence from youth.

MAY 19th.

I read 'L'histoire du gouvernement de Venise, par le Sieur Anclot de la Houssaye,'¹ an exceedingly polished work and compiled with very great diligence. Here you have the most ancient commonwealth of Europe and the means, good and bad, by which it so long preserved its freedom, such as it was. For they are 'magis sine domino quam in libertate';² so severe are the laws to which they have submitted. The dreadful and odious power of the decemvirate presses upon all with a cruelty not less than that of the fiercest despotism. Openly and secretly, without appeal, without defence, they slay innocent and guilty, good and bad; the accused not being permitted to defend themselves. Meanwhile discord, mutual suspicions, and the most fearful enmities and vices every where abound. Hence nations, one and all, may understand and learn how much more advantageous it is for the subjects of a tumultuous liberty that there should be *one* whom they may obey.

22nd.

On the assassination of Cæsar the Roman senate passed a law *μηδένα*
αὐθὺς ἐκτάττωρα γερᾶσθαι ἀπὸς τοὺς ποιησάμενους, καὶ θάνατον προκαταλείποντες,
 Dion Cass. lib. xlv. p. 267. *ἢν τις ἐσχηγῆσθαι τοῦτο ἂν θ' ὑποσπῇ καὶ προσέτι καὶ χρέματα αὐτοῖς ἀντακρῶς ἐπακροβέξαντες.*³ But what fruit had they from hence? They took

nostræ, ultima denique senectutis. Quamquam enim juvenes et senes nobiscum socii et pares sunt, tamen e paritate aliqua saltem deferentia senibus debetur, etiam cum manifeste injuste agunt, multo magis cum imprudenter vel inconvenienter. Experientia enim multorum annorum sapientiam adfert et reverentia quasi a juvenibus extorquet.

XIX. Perlegi 'L'histoire' [etc.] librum sane politissimum, maximeque diligentia collectum. Hæc hic rempublicam Europæ antiquissimam, et ejus artes, tam bonas quam malas, quibus de sua libertate taliquali funditus servavit. 'Magis' enim 'sine domino quam in libertate' sunt; tam severis legibus sese subjecerunt. At decemviratus potestas horrenda et odiosissima, omnibus non minori crudelitate incumbit quam severissima tyrannis. Palam et occulto, sine appellatione, sine advocatore, innocentes nocentesque bonos malosque occidit, non permessa postulatis sese defendendi libertate. Interim omnia discordiis, suspicionibus mutuis, et diutissimis odiis vitiosque gliscunt. Hinc omnes gentes invicem caput et discant quanto libertati discordiis servientibus sit utilis unum esse cui serviant.

XXII. Cæsare occiso, Romanus senatus legem tulit, *μηδένα* [etc.] Quid autem inde fragis? Nomen

¹ Paris, 1676, 8vo. Supplement, Paris, 1677, 8vo. In English, London, 1677, 8vo.

² Tac. Ann. ii, 4: cited by Anclot de la Houssaye, p. 352, *magis*; tr. p. 270. 'Without a master, yet not in possession of liberty.' Murphy, tr.

³ 'That henceforth no one should be dictator: having invoked a curse and threatened to inflict death upon any who should propose or undertake the office, and having, moreover, set a price on the head of the offender.'

away the name of the office: the power they afterwards saw usurped by Augustus and his successors: they changed the name, not the thing. They held in utter abhorrence the name of king: 'emperor' meant as much, indeed more. And they who have possessed the greatest regal authority have been afraid to accept the title: they have avoided the monosyllable 'king,' but have been conscious of the power. So our late traitors, seeking to abolish the kingly title and the royal lineage and power, were obliged to allow an obscure and wicked man to exercise, under the name of 'protector,' regal, nay, even despotic authority; ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασι τῆς τῶν ἔργων ἐκτενέστερος οὐσίας,^m etc. So also they desired to extirpate the venerable name of 'bishop,' yea even now are endeavouring to do so, bringing together all the bad deeds bishops have perpetrated in the course of sixteen centuries, and omitting the good. But what folly, what dishonesty!

Εἰαὶ ὃ οἱ καὶ βασιλεία προσεπείν ἐπενόουν, μὲχρι μολὼν αὐτὸς (Cæsar) ἀπηγγέμεναι καὶ ἀπελθῆεν ὡς ἀθέμιστον ὄνομα, μετὰ τὰν τῶν προγόνων ἄρῶν.ⁿ It was for this reason, therefore, that the Romans hated that name. App. Alex. pp. 807, 810, 819.

The Romans deified their emperors after death, οἱ πρότερον οὐδέ τι πρεσβύτες αὐτοῖς ἔφερον καλεῖν βασιλέας.^o App. p. 848.

Cæsar's aspiring to the name of king, mainly, was fatal to him. Suet. cap. lxxix.

When Cæsar had been slain in the senate, and all the rest ἔν ἁθρόως ἐταφωφόρων, τρεῖς θεράποντες μόνοι παρέμειναν οἱ τὸ σῶμα ἐς τὸ φορέειν ἐνέμενοι,

magistratus sustulerunt: potestatem postea ab Augusto et successoribus usurpata[m] viderunt: mutarunt nomen, non rem. Odio quam maximo nomen regis habuerunt: imperator tantundem, imo plus, valuit; quique regiam potestatem quam maximam habuerunt, titulum accipere metuerunt. Sic voculum monosyllabum rex eaverunt, potestatem vero senserunt. Sic p[ro]dulliones nostri imperi regium titulum regiam prosapiam et potestatem tollere aggredientes, obscurum et nefarium hominem, sub nomine protectoris, regia autem imo tyrannica potestate utentem pati coguntur; ὥσπερ [etc.] Sic episcopi nomen veniabile extirpare voluerunt, imo et jam conantur, omnia facta eorum nuda spatio 1600 annorum perpetrata in unum cogentes, omis-sis bonis. At qua stultitia, quali improbitate!

Εἰαὶ [etc.] Hæc ergo ratio cur istud nomen horruerunt Romani. App. [etc.]

Romani imperatores post mortem conserant, οἱ πρότερον [etc.]

Cæsari maxime mortalis fuit affectatio regii nominis. Suet. cap. 79.

Cæsare in senatu occiso et cæteris omnibus ἔν ἁθρόως [etc.] 'Læticæ' [etc.] 'Mors' [etc.] O mors,

^m 'As if the atrociousness of the deeds were in the name alone.'

ⁿ 'Some, likewise, there were who would have called him king; but he forbade it with threats, signifying his aversion for a name which could not but be unhappy after the execrations fulminated by the ancients against that dignity.' Davies, tr. 3rd ed. pt. ii, p. 98.

^o 'They who formerly would not suffer them to take the name of king whilst living.' Davies, tr. ii, 116.

ἐκκαίμωσαν οἰκάς, ἀνομίλως οἷα τριῖς, τὸν πρὸ δόλιον γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης προστάτην.¹

¹ *Hebete impositum,
dependente brachio,
tres servuli domum
retulerunt.* Suet. cap.
lxxxiii.

² *Mors corporis facit
subditos regibus.*

App. Alex. De bell. civil. lib. ii, p. 818. O death, thou alone art the terrible and surest humbler of human pride; for thou makest all men equal. Thou raisest the good to heaven, and castest down to the dust the wicked, however great. Thou art the searcher out of friendship and hatred; and marvellously dost thou place the unfortunate and wretched upon an equality with kings and emperors of the earth. Well, therefore, did the poet say,

³ *Fortem posce animum mortis terrore carentem
Qui spatium vitæ extremum inter munera ponat
Naturæ.* Juv. Sat. x, 357-9.

Than which nothing can be better, nothing more delightful.

An oath.

App. Alex. p. 815,
where there is the
form of this oath.⁴

So Brutus, in his speech to the people, excused himself and his associates from the crime of perjury, with which they were charged on account of their having murdered Cæsar after the oath they had taken to protect him. For when the partizans of Cæsar asked 'what solemn

oath remains by which the continuance of peace may be secured?' they answered, *Εἰ μὲν οὐ τιμωρήσθαι τις, οὐδὲ ὄρκιον ἔσθαι τῷ τοῖς πάτρισιν ἡμῶν ἑῷσθαι οὐδὲ ποτε.*⁵ But this is utterly false; for he himself acknowledges, in the same speech, that the tribunitial power was supported by the laws and oath *τῶν προγόνων.*⁶ Εἰ ἴ'

tu sola terribilis et verissima humani fastigii humiliatrix, tu enim omnes aequales facis. Tu bonos ad cælum tollis, malos quamquam maximos ad pulverem dejicis, amicitie et odii indagatrix, miseros et infelices aequales regibus et imperatoribus terre mittere faciendo. Optime ergo poeta: 'Fortem' [etc.] quo nihil melius, nihil suavius.

Juramentum. Sic Brutus, oratione sua ad populum, excusat seipsum et socios suos a crimine perjurii eis obiecto ob eandem Cæsaris post juramentum ei de salute sua prestitutum. (App. Alex. p. 815, ubi forma ipsius juramenti est.) Objectantibus enim Cæsarianis 'quod iusjurandum superest quo firmetur pacis stabilitas?' respondunt, *Εἰ μὲν* [etc.] Vero oppido falsum; agnoscit enim ipse eandem oratione tribunitial potestatem firmatam legibus et juramento *τῶν προγόνων.* Εἰ [etc.] Itaque? quis ergo

¹ But in a moment all these crowds were vanished: there remained with him only three unhappy slaves, who, putting him in his litter and taking it upon their shoulders, carried him who, but a little before, was master both of sea and land.' Davies, tr. ii, 103.

² 'A soul prepared to meet the frowns of fate,
And look undaunted on a future state;
That reckons death a blessing, yet can bear
Existence nobly, with its weight of care.' Gifford, tr.

³ Anthony, in his funeral oration over Cæsar's body, recited to his fellow citizens, 'the act of the oath by which they were all obliged to guard the person of Cæsar, and to employ all their forces so that, if any attempted his person, whoever exposed not his life for his defence should be execrable.' Davies, tr. ii, 111.

⁴ 'If no person be a tyrant there needs no oaths; and our predecessors never took any.' Davies, tr. ii, 112.

⁵ 'Of our fathers.' Ibid.

*ἐπιθερήσκει τις ἄλλος τυραννίδος, οὐδὲν πιστὸν ὅστι Ρωμαίοις πρὸς τέρανους οὐδ' εὐορκον.*¹ Is it so? Who then would trust the Romans? Thus, forsooth, they endeavoured to exonerate themselves from a transaction in which they had rashly and wickedly embarked. But in vain; for civil war returned, the more sanguinary in proportion as less confidence remained afterward between the conquered and the conquerors. Wherein they paid the penalty, this pestilential dogma bringing destruction upon its authors. We ought therefore to beware of taking an oath, to be firm when we have sworn, provided the subject of our oath be not absolutely unlawful. They who act otherwise purchase their present advantage with the disproportionate consequence of the evils thence arising. How much blood has this other dogma of the Romanists cost, 'faith is not to be kept with heretics'! I dare affirm that the papists themselves have reaped greater injury from it than those whom they call 'heretics.' There are two bonds of human society, love and religion. Take away love, yet religion can preserve peace, especially when it is supported by an oath. But take away confidence in the latter, and nothing is left by which you can either preserve present peace or recover it when it is lost.

JE NE LOÜE. The venerable captain William Cooke esq. of Brome² visited me: a man very well versed in every kind of learning, but especially distinguished by the *sauvity*

Romanis crederet? Sic sane se ipsos a negotio temerarie et sedeste suscepto extricare conabantur, at frustra. Redierunt enim bella civilia tanto sanguinolentiora quanto minus postea restabat fidei inter victos et victores; quibus penam etiam fuerunt ipsi, dogmate hoc pestifero ipsis parentes omnes morte domante. Cavendum ergo ne juremus; præstandum cum juravimus, modo materia juramenti non est simpliciter illicita. Qui aliter faciunt præsentem utilitatem suam nimia malorum inde orientium sequela cœunt. Quanto sanguine enim stetit hoc aliud Romanorum dogma 'fides hæreticis non est servanda'! Ausim enim affirmare ipsos papæes, majora damna hoc messuisse quam hæreticos, quos vocant. Sunt duo humane societatis vincula, amor et religio. Tolle amorem, et religio pacem servare potest, impunis cum hæc juramento ficturatur. At tolle fidem lajzus et nihil restat quo vel pacem præsentem serves aut amissionem reducere valeas.

JUNI XVI. Invisit me venerabilis Gulielmus Cooke de Brome capitaneus arm., vir omni genere litterarum ornatissimus, morum autem suavitate præcellentissimus. Sermo nobis varius at brevis, de rebus

¹ But if any one aim at despotic power, the Romans ought not to observe either fidelity or religion with tyrants.

² There is among the collections of Dawson Turner esq. an assurance dated 24th May 21 James I. from William Cooke the elder of Brome in Norfolk esq. and Mary his wife, of a third part of the manor and advowson of Brome, in favour of their son and heir William Cooke the younger, in fee simple. The latter person was probably the 'captain Cooke' of the diary, and Luther of William Cooke who was created a baronet in 1663. Sir William, the second baronet died in 1708. One of his seven daughters married Thornhagh Gordon esq. of Letton in Norfolk, and was great grandmother of Theophilus Thornhagh Gordon esq. of that place. The lordship of Brome was sold to John Fowle esq. from whose family it has passed to Sir William Fowle Fowle Middleton bart. of Shrubland hall, Suffolk. Blom. Norf. x, 110, 202; Norf. topog. man. app. i; Burke, Ext. bar. and Gen. arm.

of his manners. Our conversation was various but brief, of many subjects and books; and, among other things, of the last session of parliament. He was astonished at its base fall, after so famous and glorious an ending of the previous session. With much ostentation and confidence I asserted that the reason was plain, namely, that very few had been present.* But he replied that, on the contrary, the benches were very full. So I was compelled to blush. Therefore, in all things I must avoid too much confidence, especially in what is only conjectured or not fully ascertained.

JUNE 20th. Thomas Leman of Wenham† visited me. A young man of very great promise, and of ample patrimony; fond of learning, and already imbued with it; sedate and courteous; and well instructed in liberal acquirements by Sir Neville Catline knight.‡ For he is his maternal uncle and has taken charge of his education since the death of his father. We had much conversation respecting our magisterial

deque libris multis; interque alia de parliamenti congressu postremo, mirante illo tam fœde lapsum post tam egregium et gloriosum prioris congressus exitum. Ego vero multa jactantia et confidentia asserui causam esse manifestam, viz. perpaucos presentes fuisse. At ille contra ordines plenissimos refutit. Sic ego erubescere eogor. Cavenda, ergo, nimia confidentia in omnibus, præsertim conjectura tantummodo competentis aut ne competentis.

XX. Invisit me Tho. Leman de Wenham generosus; juvenis optimæ spei patrimoniceque amplissimæ, literarum appetens et jam iis imbutus, sobrius et civilis optimæque honestis artibus a domino Nevillio Catlini militi instructus. Is enim nequiteris ipsius est, educationemque ipsius, a morte patris, curavit. Plurima nobis verba de rebus nostris justiciariis deque oppositionibus nostris; me res nostras

* A liberal vote of money and the defeat of an attempt to dissolve the parliament were, in the view of a cavalier, 'glorious' events. The house had met again, 15th February 1676-7, and showed increasing symptoms of failing loyalty. When the king asked for another and still larger grant, an adjournment was voted, under the pretext that a great part of the members were absent. Mr. Bohun appears to have mistaken this for the true reason. The commons soon reassembled; but instead of granting money they offered advice; and Charles angrily put an end to the session.

† Thomas Leman esq. of Wenham, captain of horse, 1664, died 1672-3, aged forty-nine, leaving his son, noticed in the diary, a minor. A stone in the floor of the chancel of Wenham church marks the grave of the father: 'vir integerrimus, magnam fidelitatis exemplar, regie majestatis strenuus assertor, ecclesiæ Anglicanæ totis viribus obsequiosus; cui pater et justitiæ soror incorrupta fides, in-dique veritas: quando illum invenient parem?' Nor did the young visitor at Westhall hall dishonour his parentage or disappoint the hope of his friends. At Wenham there is the subjoined inscription to his memory: 'Thomas Leman, armiger, illustri familia oriundus, pietate, probitate, prudentia, eruditione, modestia, comitate, cæterisque animi generosi vere christiani, virtutibus ornatus; omnibus, dum vixit, charus, suis desideratus. Obiit v. Non. Maii, anno Dom. mcccxi. ætatis sue xlix'. Justorum animæ in manu Dei sunt, et non tangit illos tormentum mortis. Thomas Leman, filius natu maximus, pietatis ergo L. M. Q. hoc marmor posuit.'

‡ Sir Neville Catline, or Catlyn, of Wingfield castle, was son and heir of Richard Catlyn esq. a member of the long parliament, who was deprived of his seat, 22nd January 1643, for having deserted

affairs and our oppositions. I explained our circumstances, that he might know what to expect when he should be admitted into our number; which I greatly desire, on account of his honorable and loyal character.

JAN. 26th.

With some astonishment I have seen and watched the horrible and base conduct of G. E.³ towards Mr. John Hacket, clerk,⁴ and E. Coke, gentleman, my kinsman;⁵ equally insolent, shameless, and perfidious. This man behaves himself as a devourer of men. Assuredly he is the most impious of mankind, nor has he the least fear of God before his eyes. For when he has crushed any one he justifies himself and with astonishing impudence boasts of his own honour and equity. If you deny or even question it, he attacks you with outrageous anger, as if he were mad. Deliver me and mine, O Lord, from injustice, and from too great a love of wealth; also from him and men like him; of whom the psalmist says, they are brought into desolation; suddenly have they come to nought; they perished on account of their iniquity. Psal. lxxiii, 19.

⁴ *Tolluntur in altum,*

Ut lapsu graviore ruant. ⁵ Claudian.⁶

Surely it is very evident from hence that there will be a future judgment, since there are so many deeds of this nature which cannot be punished in this world. How

aperiente, ut sciret quid expectaret eum in numerum nostrum admitteretur: quod maxime exspecto ob honestam et fideliem suam indolem.

XXVI. Stupescencia quam vidi et observavi horribiles et fœdas actiones G. E. in Dominum Johannem Hacket clericum et E. Coke gener. cognatum meum perpetratis, quanta eum insolentia et invidia tanta peridia. Ille homo hominum luctu se gerit. Certe impiissimus hominum est; nec minimum Dei timorem coram oculis suis habet. Cum enim quonque oppressit justificat seipsum et, impudentia quam mirabiti, honestatem suam et aequitatem jactat. Si negas vel dubitas tantummodo, inhumani ira in te insurgit tanquam furiosus. Eripe me, Domine, et meos ab injustitia et nimio habendi amore, necnon ab hoc et similibus hominibus: de quibus psalmista, facti sunt in desolationem; subito defecerunt: perierunt propter iniquitatem suam. Psal. lxxiii, 19. ⁴ *Tolluntur* [etc.] (Claudian.) Certe hinc maxime appareat futurum judicium, cum tot et talia sunt quæ hoc mundo puniri non possunt. Quot

the house to attend the king's convention at Oxford. Charles II. rewarded the loyalty of the father by knighting the son in 1662. Sir Neville died in July 1702, and was interred at Kirby Cane in Norfolk. The remains of Wingfield castle passed to the descendants of his sister, Anne Leman.

³ It is easy to imagine that political prejudice contributed to this strong colouring. Conjecture is all that can be offered with regard to the initials, 'G. E.' It seems possible that the individual pointed at may have been George England esq., who represented Great Yarmouth in several parliaments, was appointed one of the counsel, under-steward, and recorder, of that borough, and is described, on his monument, as 'a true friend to the liberty of his country.' See Swinden's 'History of Great Yarmouth,' p. 882; Turner's 'Sepulchral reminiscences,' pp. 30, 111, 113.

⁴ See above, p. 18.

⁵ The connexion between the families of Coke and Bohun is noticed in the genealogy prefixed to the present volume. This 'E. Coke' is, however, difficult to identify.

⁶ In Rufinum, i, 22.

many heinous crimes are perpetrated which are hidden from men, which are known and cannot be proved, which are concealed and managed with such craft that human laws are obliged to excuse them, in fine, which defeat and evade punishment by man. Money accumulated by all kinds of wickedness exempts its dishonest possessor from justice. The more cruel slaughters preclude punishment. The rebellion of multitudes is safe on account of their number. Numberless frauds and perjuries, from their very secrecy, cannot be found out. But when that day shall come, all these things will be made manifest; all will be proved, all will be punished. Neither will numbers alarm the judge, nor money corrupt him. Nor will the poor fear the rich, the weak the strong, the meanly-born the noble, the servant the master, the subject the king, or any one, another. For God is just in all his works, yea, while he spares the most wicked; and he renders to every one his desert. Beware therefore, my soul, lest thou be provoked to sin by the impunity of bad men, or offend by impatience. Take heed to thy ways, that when that day shall come thou mayest have mercy. And pour out thy prayers to the Father of mercies for these miserable men, that they may repent.

4013. Νομίζω γὰρ ἀνὴρὸς ἀγαθοῦ ὁμοίως ἔργον εἶναι, τοῖς τε τῆς πατρίδος σφαιφέρουσαι τηρεῖν ἐαυτὸν φελαττόμενον μὴ μάτην ἀπολήται· κἂν τοῦτο μὴ ἐν ἐλλείπειν τῶν προσήκόντων, μῆτε λείποντα μῆτε πράττοντα, κἂν ἄρα τι καὶ παθεῖν αἰέοντα αὐτῇ ἀναγκαῖον ᾗ.^c Nothing is more worthy of man than this sentiment. For a wise man's power does not consist in being prodigal of life; nor will a brave man childishly dread to undergo any little injury for his country's sake.

Dion Cass. lib. xlv.
p. 279.

perpetrata sunt nefanda scelera que homines latent, que nesciuntur et probari non possunt, que tanta astutia teguntur et administrantur ut leges humane patrocinare iis coguntur, denique que pecuniam humanam pravertunt et excludunt! Pecunie omni nequitia accumulata: mali fide possidentem a iudicio eximunt. Cedes crudeliores vindictam tollunt. Rebellores numerosiores multitudine sua tute. Fraus et perjury quam multa ipsa secretis investigari non possunt. At cum illa dies venerit omnia manifesta, omnia probanda, omnia punienda sunt. Nec multitudo terribit iudicem, nec pecunia corrumpet. Non pauper divitem, infirmum validum, ignobilis nobilem, servus dominum, subditus regem, nemo in minorem, timebit. Justus enim Deus est in omnibus operibus suis, imo dum parit iniquis-imis, et reddit summi cuique. Cave ergo, anima mea, ne malorum impunitate in peccandum viceris, nec impatentia offendas: vias tuas observato, ut cum iste dies venerit misericordiam habeas: precesque pro his miseriis ad Patrem misericordiarum funde ut respiciant.

JULI. Νομίζω [etc.] Qua quidem sententia nihil homine dignius. Vis sapientis enim non est prodigere vitam, ita nec fortis est omne minimum detrimentum pro patria subeundum pueriliter formidare.

^c 'I consider it to be at once the duty of a good man to reserve himself for the benefit of his country, not exposing himself to needless destruction, and, at the same time, to refrain from nothing that is right, either in word or deed, even though he should suffer for adhering to it.'

JULY 1801. I visited Sir John Rous bart., as I have often done before. He had some clergymen with him; and among them H. W. rector of W.^d We had much conversation on ecclesiastical affairs and on our divisions. H. W. extolled his own forbearance towards the wandering sheep of his parish.^a To which I answered that, nevertheless, he himself was hated, because although, as he acknowledged, he had formerly been one of the same party, he had forsaken them. He said, however, that he had fallen in with the church because he saw that peace could not otherwise be

xix. Invisi D. Joannem Rouse baronetum, ut sæpius ante. Paucos secum clericos habuit; interque illos H. W. rect. de W. Plurimus nobis sermo de rebus ecclesiasticis deque divisionibus nostris. Ipse H. W. collaudavit patientiam suam versus errantes parochii sui oves. Me respondente nihilominus ipsam odio habitum, quod, cum prius ejusdem factionis fuisset, quod et agnovit, ipsos deliquisset, dicebat autem, se in ecclesiam concessisse, quod pacem aliter constare non posse videbat. Interrogavi, autem,

^aThis was evidently the Rev. Henry Wotton, of Corpus Christi college, Cambridge, who, after having been unannounced to Dr. Andrews, bishop of Winchester, was presented, in 1661, to the rectory of Wrentham, a rural parish in the immediate neighbourhood of Henham and Westhall. He was the father of a greater son, by whose precocious endowments he was led to publish 'An essay on the education of children in the first rudiments of learning, together with a narrative of what knowledge William Wotton, a child six years of age, hath attained unto, upon the improvements of those rudiments, in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew tongues.' Lond. 1672; reprinted 1753, 8vo. Among the testimonials to his son's attainments, given by 'numerous persons of worth and learning,' Mr. Wotton inserted his own in terms of natural pride and becoming thankfulness: 'Gulielmum Wottonium, Henrici patris Wrenthamensis filium, propria indoles, parentis cura, præsens fama, ex divina gratia ornaverunt. Quo tempore alii ejusdem ætatis crepundia gestant ipse s. s. scripture linguis Latina, Græcæ, et Hebræicæ, legit, intelligit, exponit. Virgilium, Homerum, Terentium, Pythagoram, gaudet legere, intelligere, recitare. . . . Hæc devotus, gratus, venerandus divinam benignitatem, scripsit parens ejus, H. Wotton. Junii 30, 1672.' Evelyn mentions that, in 1679, this extraordinary child understood Arabic, Syriac, and most of the modern languages and was in other respects a 'miracle' of learning; adding that 'he had only been instructed by his father, who, being himself a learned person, confessed that his son knew all that he himself knew.' Mr. Wotton died early in December 1696. The precise date is omitted in the mutilated inscription to the memory of himself and Sarah his wife in Wrentham church. The legend seems to have simply described him as a bachelor of divinity, and adds, 'Reliquit duos filios, Plectw. et Gulielmum.' It has been considered remarkable that the eminent qualifications of this second son 'did not advance him, in the line of his profession, beyond a fellowship at Cambridge and a country parsonage.' But it is not less worthy of notice that so early a ripeness did not induce premature decay. He distinguished himself in after life as the friend and defender of Bentley in the celebrated controversy with Sir William Temple, and lived to the age of sixty-one years to bear witness, by his critical knowledge and erudition, to the judicious care with which his wonderful memory had been cultivated and directed by his father. Nichols, 'Literary anecdotes,' iv, 253-263; Evelyn's diary, ed. 1827, iii, 7-9.

^aThis alludes to the congregational church which was formed at Wrentham on the 1st February 1619, under the Rev. John Philip, one of the Westminster assembly of divines, and which was, for many years,

established. But I asked him whether, for the same reason, he would not leave the church when he saw fit. He was excessively angry, and gave no answer. Then I declared that men of this sort would read the Koran when they could derive emolument from so doing. Which he again denied. I proceeded to prove this, and described their detestable and known perjuries, inferring that they who would commit perjury for party's sake would do any thing that might seem expedient. To this he made no reply. Striving to conciliate both parties he is suspected by both. He neither loves nor is beloved by any one. Dion Cassius long ago made this remark respecting

an eadem de causa ecclesiam non relicturus esset cum sibi videretur. Ipse, ira vehementi commotus, nullum dedit responsum. Ego autem affirmavi hujusmodi homines Alcoranum lecturos cum inde emolumentum habituri sunt. Quod iterum negavit. Ego, probare aggressus, detestabilia eorum et nota perjuria expressi, hinc colligens qui perjurare volunt propter factionem omnia velle cum opus esset. His nihil respondebat. Iste utrosque sibi conciliare laborans, suspectus utrisque est. Nec amat nec amatur ab ullo.

greatly encouraged by the Brewsters, lords of the manor of Wrentham. That family had been seated there from the time of Edward vi. Having, in the following century, joined the puritan party, they figured in the commission of 1613 for removing scandalous ministers, as well as in Barchoness' and the long parliaments. It is quite conceivable,



therefore, that Francis Brewster esq. to whom Mr. Wotton was indebted for the living of Wrentham, would be attracted by his previous leaning towards nonconformity and by the moderation which was so offensive to Mr. Bohun. Wrentham hall, which stood near to the parish church and was long the refuge and sanctuary of uncompromising shepherds and 'wandering sheep,' was pulled down in 1810, when the estate of the Brewsters passed from the heirs of Humphry Brewster, esq. to Sir Thomas

Gooch bart. of Bonaere. The stone on which were sculptured the arms of an earlier Humphry Brewster, insupling those of Forster of Copdock, and which had been placed over the portal arch, served, for many years, the ignoble purpose of loading a mangle in the village. It has since been presented to Joseph Nunn Brewster esq. of Halstead in Essex, a branch of this ancient family. Among other wanderers from the Wrentham fold, albeit not unworthy of notice, were William Ames M.A. son of Dr. William Ames of Rotterdam, and Augustine Plumsted, fellow of Trinity college, Cambridge, compiler of a Hebrew, Greek, and English concordance to the bible, whereon he spent many years' labour, but which, though recommended by archbishop Sancroft and several bishops, was never published, and the manuscript of which was 'entirely demolished, those in whose hands the papers were left thinking them of no value, after his decease'! Gent. mag. 1812, p. 313; Burke, Commons, ii, 619; Palmer. Nine. mem. iii, 296; Rev. Thomas Harmer, MSS.



Cicero: to his own disgrace, he desired to gain over the common people and nobles, who were at variance, but failed; relying upon both he was exiled.

JULY 23rd.



visited the right reverend father Anthony Sparrow, our bishop;¹ who was formerly master of Queen's college, when I was a student there. He received me with the greatest courtesy, and invited me to dinner afterward; where also I was present. But he laboured under so much weakness of voice that I heard very little that he said, which I thought very unfortunate. Whatever I asked he most readily promised; and, among other things, his protection if, in matters pertaining to the church, I should be attacked by any one. Certainly he is a very good ruler of the church, a severe disciplinarian, but a most gentle father in all other respects.

Hoc observavit olim de Cicerone Dion Cassius: plebes et nobiles dissidentes non sine infamia sua merere voluit, at non potuit: utrisque vero iniustus exuluit.

XXIII. Invisi reverendiss. patrem Antho. Sparrow episcopum nostrum quondam coll. reginalis magistrum cum et ego eadem societate literas operam dedi. Ipse maxima comitate me recepit, et in posterum ad prandium invitavit; ubi adfui iterum. Tanta vero vocis inbecillitate laboravit ut vix paucissima ejus verba audivi; quod mihi infortunitissimum duxi. Quicquid petii promptissime promisit et, inter alia, protectionem suam si in rebus ecclesiae pertinentibus impugnarer ab aliquo. Certe, optimus est ecclesiarum rector, severus disciplinae exactor, at mitissimus in aliis omnibus pater.

¹ This prelate was born in 1612. Blomfield, the Norfolk historian, says he was the son of Samuel Sparrow a wealthy inhabitant of Depden in Suffolk: according to other authorities he was a native of Wickhambrook in that county, and son of John Sparrow gentleman. The bishop's life was marked with the chequered character of the times. He was admitted a scholar of Queen's college, Cambridge, at the age of thirteen; was elected a fellow in 1633; was ejected in 1643 for refusing the covenant; accepted the benefice of Hawkesden in his native county, but, after holding it only five weeks, was deprived by the committee of religion then sitting at Westminster. After the restoration of the monarchy he returned to his living; and on the 7th August 1660 was installed archdeacon of Sudbury. In the following year he was chaplain to the king, by whom also he was 'commended' to the mastership of Queen's college, in opposition to the choice of Simon Patrick by a majority of the fellows. Bishop Wren gave Dr. Sparrow a prebendal stall in Ely. In 1666 he was vice-chancellor of Cambridge, and in 1667 he was consecrated bishop of Exeter. From thence he was translated, 28th August 1676, to the see of Norwich, in which city he died 19th May 1685.

Ant. Norwic

It would seem that some of his family were not disinclined to presbyterianism; for John Sparrow and Anthony Sparrow of Reed, Samuel Sparrow of Depden and Samuel Sparrow of Chevington, were proposed, in 1645, as members of the eldership for one of the 'divisions' in 'the province of Suffolk.' Walker, *'Sufferings of the clergy,'* pt. ii, p. 156; Blom. Norf. iii, 586, iv, 319; Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* ed. Bliss, iv, 852; *Past. Oxon.* i, 206, ii, 292; 'The county of Suffolk divided into fourteen precincts for classical presbyteries,' Lond. 1647.

Εἴτερ ὅπως σώζεσθαι τὴν πατρίδα θέλεις, τοιαῦτα καὶ λόγῳ καὶ πράττει, εἰς ἃν καὶ αὐτὸς
Dion Cass. lib. xlvj, p. 310. σωθῆσθ, μὴ μὰ Δὲ! εἰς ἃν καὶ ἡμῶς συναποδύσσεαι. 'Si vere incolunitatem patriæ curas, ea dic eaque age quibus tuam ipsius quoque salutem tueris, non ea profecto quæ nobis una tecum exitium afferant.'* For many who, with undue zeal, have thrown away their own lives, have ruined their country at the same time: of this history affords numerous instances.

J. C. I. 2716. 'Prophetarum et apostolorum' est 'res Dei apud hominibus agere, sacerdotum autem res hominum apud Deum. Illi scilicet Dei apud homines legati erant, hî hominum apud Deum patroni.'^b But after the end of the Mosiac dispensation the same men were both ambassadors of God and advocates for men; which we scarcely read of before; since priests sprang only from the family of Aaron, prophets from any family and lineage. Priests were appointed to their office by natural succession; prophets were marked out for an extraordinary calling. They were summoned to this office by grace and divine illumination, and were obliged to prove their commission in another manner, namely by miracles and foretelling future events. Priests fulfilled and administered the will of God among men; prophets explained and taught what ought to be done. But when our Saviour had both taught the will of God perfectly and taken away sacrifices by the sacrifice

Εἴτερ [etc.] 'Si vere' [etc.] Dion Cass. [etc.] Multi enim dum nimio fervore vitam propriam profligerunt patriam una perire cogerunt; cujus historia quamplurima exempla perhibet.

xxvii. 'Prophetarum' [etc.] Post finem vero legis Mosaicæ, iidem homines et legati Dei et patroni hominum; quod raro antea evenisse legitur, cum sacerdotes e familia Aaronis solummodo, prophetae e quarumque familia et prosapia oriundi. Sacerdotes ordine naturali designabantur ad officium, prophetae vocatione extraordinarie consignati. Gratia quadam et illuminatione divina ad hoc officium evocati sunt; alioque modo commissionem probare cogebantur, nimirum miraculis et futurorum prædictionibus. Illi voluntatem Dei implebant et administrabant apud homines; illi patiebantur et docebant quid agendum erat. At cum Servator noster et Dei voluntatem perfecte docuisset, et sacrificia, suo

* Xylænder's version of Dion Cassius, ed. Leunclavius, 1506. 'If you wish your country to be safe, let your words and actions be such as may tend to preserve your own and its safety, and not such as may bring destruction upon us with yourself.'

^b Lib. i, xiv. 'Adde quod munus sacerdotale eo maxime a prophetico atque etiam apostolico differet, quod prophetarum et apostolorum esset.' etc. 'Let it also be observed that the principal difference between the priestly office and the prophetic, and even the apostolical, was, that prophets and apostles were to transact the business of God with men, but priests that of men with God. Prophets and apostles were ambassadors of God to men; priests were advocates of men with God.' Allen, tr. Lond. 1817, p. 234.

The work of Outram, Lond. 1677, &c, is still in high estimation, as affording, in a comparatively small compass, a masterly vindication of the vicarious atonement of Christ, and a satisfactory explanation of the typical relation of the ancient sacrifices to the nature and design of that atonement.

of himself, and utterly removed the commonwealth of the Jews, christian bishops and presbyters sustained both titles and administered both offices; that of ambassador by

* Improperly; for Christ is the only and true priest.

preaching, that of the advocate* for mankind by pouring forth prayers and thanksgivings to God. And although there was no need of revelations, the canon of scripture being completed, yet there was need of

order. Episcopal ordination came in place of the natural succession; and the extraordinary mission of prophets and apostles disappeared. But in these last and worst of times some crafty men busy themselves in reviving the prophetic mission, and boast of an extraordinary calling, despising that which is ordinary; which we do not any where read was done by the true prophets. For none of them encroached upon the temple service assigned by God to the family of Aaron. Nor do these men prove their mission except by mere assertion, a thing which was never conceded to the others. Some, again, unduly exalting the office of an ambassador, undervalue the administration of prayers and thanksgivings, which is the duty of the advocate or priest. Hence sermons or prophesyings are extolled to the skies, sacraments and prayers are neglected. Knowledge we have: devotion, reverence, charity, we have lost. And we like priests as orators, but we do not venerate them as advocates with God. O, how much have these ambitious fellows lost! Courting admiration they have lost the respect and love of the people.

August 1st.

* *Liquet sacra piacularia non inertem plane et otiosam, sed ejusmodi venie impetrandæ conditionem continuisse, quæ Dei justitiæ ac sanctitatis, animique perperam factis infensi et satis aptam præbebat speciem, et ad excitandam tuendamque legum sacrarum reverentiam non incommode pertinebat.* * *Outr. De sacrificiis,* p. 249.

sustulisset, et rempublicam Judeorum e medio removisset, episcopi et presbyteri Christiani utrumque et nomen et officium sustinuerunt, et administrabant legati predicando, patroni * hominum preces et benedictiones fundendo ad Deum. Cumque opus non esset revelatione, canone scripturarum perfecto, ordine autem opus esset. Ordinatio episcopalis successit ordini naturali; eamque missio extraordinaria prophetarum et apostolorum. At his posteris et pessimis diebus valui quidam homines missionem propheticam revocare assequi; et vocationem extraordinariam jectant, contemptu ordinariæ. Quod a veris prophetis non factum legitur usquam. Nemo enim ipsorum templi administrationem invasit, Aaronis familie a Deo datam. Nec tamen prodant hanc missionem suam aliter quam affirmando; quod his nunquam concessum. Alii vero officium legati nimium exaltantes, illud quod patroni aut sacerdotis est precum et gratiarum administrationem deprimunt nimis. Hinc sermons seu predicationes ad celum sublati, sacramenta et preces negliguntur. Populus Deum audire gessit: humiliter alloqui et adorare non curat. Scientiam habemus: devotionem et reverentiam, charitatem, perdidimus. Et sacerdotes, tanquam oratores, amamus; at non veneramus ut patronos apud Deum. O quantum perdidit ambitiosi hi homines! Admirationem affectando, reverentiam, amoremque populi perdidit.

* Improperie; nam Christus solus est vera sacerdos.

August 1. * *Liquet* [etc.]

* It is evident that the piacular sacrifices included a condition of pardon, which was not ineffective and useless, but which at once afforded an apt representation of God's justice and holiness and displeasure against sin, and was well calculated to excite and maintain a reverence for his holy laws. * *Allen, t. p. 261.*

ANOTER ILL. I read 'The history of Britain', written, by John Milton,¹ in our own language, with neat and perspicuous brevity and not less elegance; and containing many things very deserving of notice. Certainly nothing interested me so much as the causes of the Norman conquest: namely, the general corruption of morals; the inordinate attachment of Edward the confessor, who died without issue, to the Normans; the exclusion of the lawful heir; the elevation of the usurper Harold; and his ill-timed ambition, after the death of his brothers, in opposition to the legitimate succession of Edgar called the Atheling. To these causes we owe a period of five hundred years fatal to England, and they afford a prospect for the future to me most gloomy, since I consider that our irreconcilable dissension in religion in particular has added, as it were, the climax of our ills. May God bless our king and prolong his days, as the days of heaven; for he is the true breath of our nostrils, the one only protector and defender of our peace, under a most merciful God.

10th. Heb. v, 9, 10. Καὶ τελειωθείς ἐγένετο τοῖς ὑπακούουσιν αὐτῷ πᾶσιν αἰτίος σωτηρίας αἰώνιον· πρῶταρχοῦντος ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀρχιερεὺς κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδέκ. 'And, being consecrated, he became the author of eternal salvation unto all them that obey him; called of God a pontiff (or high priest) after the order of Melchisedec.' Indeed the seventy very often use τελειωθείς^k in this sense. Exod. xxix, 9. Καὶ τελειώσεις Ἀαρὼν,^l etc. Our translation, therefore, incorrectly renders it 'and being made perfect.' He was consecrated by his own

iv. Prelegi historiam Britannie per Joannem Milton elegantem et perspicuam brevitate nec minori elegantia lingua nostra conscriptam; multa notata dignissima continentem. Certe nihil me æque affectavit ac causas victoriae Normannicæ; nimirum, morum depravatio generalis; Edwardi confessoris, sine prole morientis, importunus erga Normannos amor; hæredis legitimæ abdicatio; usurpatoris Haroldi exaltatio; et post mortem fratrum suorum intempestiva ambitio, contra legitimam Edgari Athelingi dicti successionem. His, periodica D. annorum Angliæ fatalium, quæ mihi de futuro prospectum luctuosissimum præbent, cum præsentium tanquam emulorum malorum nostrorum religionis divisionem implacabilem accessisse cogito. Deus benedicat regi nostro, et dies ejus tanquam dies cæli producat; nam is verus narius nostrarum spiritus, solus et unicus pacis nostræ sub Deo misericordissimus protector et propagator.

x. Heb. cap. v, con. 9, 10. Τελειωθείς ἐγένετο [etc.] 'Et consecratus factus est omnibus obediensibus ei causa salutis æternæ vocatus a Deo pontifex (aut summus sacerdos) secundum ordinem Melchisedechi.' Utuntur autem τελειωθείς hoc sensu sæpiissime LXXII. Exod. xxix, 9. καὶ τελειώσεις Ἀαρὼν, [etc.] (Levit. viii, 22, 33; Exod. xxix, 27, etc.) Male ergo translatio nostra, 'and being made perfect.' Consecratus autem fuit passione sua, tanquam sacrificio, ut Aaron et filii ejus sacrificiis

¹ Lond. 1670, 4to. Mr. Bohun would perhaps have modified his praise could he have read the work as it appears in modern editions. The licenser expunged several passages which, reprobatng the pride and superstition of the monks in the Saxon times, were understood as a concealed satire upon the bishops of a later period. Those passages were published in 1681, and have since been inserted in their proper places. Lowndes.

^k 'Being consecrated.'

^l 'And thou shalt consecrate Aaron.'

passion as by a sacrifice; as Aaron and his sons were consecrated by sacrifices and by the blood of beasts; but he by his own blood, offered for us. Outram, 'De sacrificiis,' p. 293.

Hence we understand that the son of God, when he was raised again from the dead to immortal life, was fully consecrated to an everlasting priesthood. And hence it appears that a knowledge of the Greek tongue is necessary, that one may be able rightly to interpret the scriptures. Sadly, therefore, must those who are unlearned and puffed up with pride mistake, when, with unwashed hands and blinded minds, they mangle and corrupt the holy scriptures; to whom what Peter wrote is a caution: *Ἐπεὶ οἱ ἀμαθεῖς καὶ ἀστήκτοι στρεβλοῦσιν, ὥς καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς γραφὰς πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπώλειαν.*^m 11 Pet. iii, 16.

AUGUST 19th. I read 'De sacrificiis libri duo; quorum altero explicantur omnia Judeorum nonnulla gentium profanarum sacrificia, altero sacrificium Christi; utroque ecclesie catholice his de rebus sententia contra Faustum Socinum ejusque sectatores defenditur: autore Gulielmo Outramo s. r. r. ecclesie S. Petri apud Westmonasterienses canonice': printed in London this year.ⁿ Compiled with very great care and full of learning. I think them very deserving of being read and weighed. That most worthy man Sir John Rous bart. lent me the book; to whom I returned it with thanks.

SEPTEMBER 8th.

Dion Cass. lib. xlvii, p. 356.

Ἔτι τλήμων ἀρετῇ λόγος ἄρ' ἤσθ' ἐγὼ εἰς σέ
 Ὅς ἐργὸν ἤσκουν· σὺ δ' ἄρ' ἐκούλεις τέχνη.^o

sacra sunt et sanguine bestiarum; ipse vero suo sanguine pro nobis oblato. 'Outramus de sacrificiis,' pag. 293. Unde intelligitur Dei filium, tunc cum ad vitam immortalē e mortuis resuscitatus esset, ad sacerdotium sempiternum plene consecratum fuisse. Hinc appareat necessariam esse scientiam Græcæ linguæ, ut recte scripturas quis interpretare, valeat. Misere ergo indocti, superbia inflati, errare necesse est; cum s. s. illotis manibus et cæcis mentibus lacerant, polluantque: quibus cautioni est quod Petrus scripsit: *Ἐπεὶ οἱ ἀμαθεῖς* [etc.] 11 Pet. cap. iii. com. 16.

xix. Perlegi duos libros 'De sacrificiis, quorum' [etc.] Londini hoc anno imprimatos, maximam cura tum doctrina reertos et collectos. Legi dignissimos sentio et perpendi. Accommodavit autem mihi vir dignissimus Joannes Rouse baronetius, cui cum gratiis restitui.

SEPT. viii. Ἔτι τλήμων [etc.] Hæc miserabili sententia diem summa clausit infelix ille Brutus, a

^m 'Which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other scriptures, unto their own destruction.'

ⁿ The translation 'by John Allen,' 2nd ed. Lond. 1828, cited above, pp. 31, 32, is intitled 'Two dissertations on sacrifices; the first on all the sacrifices of the Jews, with remarks on some of those of the heathens, the second on the sacrifice of Christ: in both which the general doctrine of the christian church on these subjects is defended against the Socinians. By William Outram D. D. formerly prebendary of Westminster.'

^o 'O wretched virtue! thou wast a pretence, but I followed thee as a reality: thou wast the slave of chance.'

With this miserable sentiment the unhappy Brutus ended his days, being put to death by one of his slaves, at his own command, after he had killed Cæsar. A man certainly neither ignorant nor destitute of virtue. But he had not the true, heavenly light. Hence his lamentation, hence his mistakes. For in the present life there is no difference, as to prosperity, between virtue and vice; but there will be, O Brutus! in another world. Virtue is 'a reality' and not 'the slave of chance.' But divine Providence arranges all things here as seemeth good to himself; always well, though often in a way unknown to us. Thou^p hast deserved this punishment, others a different one, which, in his own time, will overtake them. Lift up thine eyes: adore that great *χρηστὸς*^q; nor, at last throw away thy virtue, such as it is, although it be not gaintful. Take heed to thyself, my soul; hold fast thy patience; submit thyself to God; trust in him alone. It is better to perish with his favour than to live without it. He hath created thee, and let him do what he will with his own.

SEPTEMBER 21st. I read Appianus Alexandrinus, on the civil war of the Romans, a book next after the Greek testament. Truly an elegant and concise writer, and one who has very well described that turbulent period, and has preserved for us numerous and most striking examples of human wretchedness. In his writings he has recorded the virtues and actions of illustrious men with singular brevity. He has committed to his never-dying pages very many instances of divine providence, and banded them down to us and to future ages. I wish, indeed, that all our countrymen would read, and, instructed by their misfortunes, would live contented with their own most excellent lot, and render thanks to God for the return of peace. Nor would they again provoke his anger by their ingratitude, fomenting disturbances, complainings, factions.

servo quodam suo interemptus, ipso jubente, postquam Cæsarem interfecisset. Vir certe nec indoctus nec virtutis destitutus. At verum illud coeleste lumen non habuit hinc querelas, hinc errores. Vita enim præsentī nullum discrimen inter virtutem et vitia, quoad prosperitatem. At erit, O Brute, altero mundo. Res vera virtus nec fortune serva. At Providentiæ divini omnia hic ut sibi videtur disponit, semper bene, sæpe tamen modo nobis incognito. Tu meruisti hanc penam: illi aliam; quam tempore suo consecuturi sunt. Tolle oculos, magnam illum *χρηστὸν* adorate; nec virtutem tuam quodammodo in fine abiectio, quamquam improperam. Cave tibi, anima mea: patientiam retinete: te Deo submittite: illi solo fideo. Melius est favore suo peire, quam sine ea vivere. Ipse te creavit atque de suo quod velit.

xxi. Perlegi Appianum Alexandrinum de bello civili Romanorum, secundum post Græcum testamentum librum: elegantem certe et concisum scriptorem quique ætatem illam turbulentissimam optime depinxit miserieque humane plurima et luculentissima exempla nobis servavit. Artes et actiones virorum illustrium mira brevitate peripis consignavit. Providentiæ divini plurima specimina nunquam morituris chartis credidit, nobisque et venturis sæculis tradidit. Utinam vero omnes nostrates legere et cuncta malis electi sorte sua optima contenti viverent Deoque gratias redite pacis solverent. Neque iterum nam suam ingratitudine sua excitarent, turbas, querelas, factiones miscendo.

^p The diarist turns the address to himself.

^q Leader, chief.

SEPTEMBER 27th. 'Adamo . . . statim ab initio creationis Hebraicæ lingue cognitio fuit indita; quæ quidem naturalis non fuit, aut ex nature humanæ principijs vel causis orta, sed *præternaturalis*, ut ita dicam; quia singulari Dei gratia concessa. Ideoque neque in liberos per naturalem generationem propagata fuit, sed oportet eam a parentibus addiscere et ab institutione uberum accipere. Nulla enim lingua, post lapsum, neque Ebraea, neque Chaldaica, aut Ægyptiaca, ulli hominum innata est, sed discendo discernendum est, et discenda lingue donec est mundus.' * *Antiquitates biblicæ*, p. 226. Thus far that very learned German of our own time, John Conrad Dieterie, advances sentiments agreeable to reason and experience. Horace, therefore, was wrong in saying,

Sat. i. lib. 99. 103.

'Quum propeperunt primis animalia terris,
Mutum et turpe pecus, . . .
Donec verba, quibus voces sensusque notarent,
Nominaque invenere.' *

For most certainly this boon was given by God to the first man, and was handed down to us by tradition. Which may also be proved from the circumstance that all who are born deaf are of necessity dumb. Most of them, indeed, are endued with a lively disposition and have a ready tongue, but they are unable to articulate or devise sounds, and express their inward feelings by signs only. It was therefore a very foolish contrivance of Psammetichus, king of Egypt, to find out, by the first articulate sound of an infant never taught to speak, who were the first men. Herod. lib. ii.

XVIII. 'Adamo . . . statim' [etc.] Hucusque doctissimus ille seculi nostri Germanus Joannes Conradus Dietericus rationi et experientiæ consentanea proponit. Male ergo Horatius, 'Quum' [etc.] Nam certissime hoc donum a Deo datum primo homini, et ad nos propagatum traditione; quod et hinc probari potest, quia surdi omnes nati sunt muti ex necessitate. Hi vero ingenio sunt plerique vivo præditi et linguam promptam habent; at voces formare et invenire non possunt, signisque tantum sensus suos interiores exprimunt. Stultissimum ergo commentum Psammetichæ, regis Ægypti, de inveniendo qui primi hominum fuerunt, per primam vocem infantis nunquam loqui docti. Herod. lib. ii. prin.

* His initiis universum genus animantium longa serie accepit sua nomina ab Adamo protoplaste, cui statim ab initio' etc. as in the text. 'From this origin the whole race of living creatures have received their names, through a long descent, from Adam our first father, in whom, at the very creation, a knowledge of the Hebrew language was implanted; which, indeed, was not natural nor the result of the principles or causes of human nature, but, so to speak, *præternatural*; for it was imparted by the special favour of God. Neither, therefore, was it transmitted to children by natural generation. But it must be learned from parents, and received with the first rudiments of instruction. For no language, since the fall, Hebrew, Chaldee, or Egyptian, is innate in any one, but it must be acquired by learning; and as long as the world lasts languages will have to be learned.'

* * When the first mortals crawling rose to birth,
Speechless and wretched from their mother earth, . . .
Till words, to fix the wandering voice, were found,
And names impress'd a meaning upon sound.' Francis, tr.

SEPTEMBER 27th. Our venerable bishop held, at Beccles, a visitation of his clergy, and confirmed a great number of both sexes and of all classes and ages. At this solemnity I was present, and I alone, of all the justices, dined with him, free of expence,¹ when he treated me with the greatest civility and respect.² Nor did he direct his attention solely to ecclesiastical, but also to secular, affairs; undertaking to introduce into the commission of the peace, Sir John Rous bart., William Glover, Charles Cock, Thomas Leman,³ and Lionel Playters,⁴ gentlemen, on the nomination of William Cooke esq.,⁵ of Norfolk, and myself; in order that these very worthy men may resist the schemes of the upstarts who, under the pretext of prudence and moderation in ecclesiastical affairs, are ruining both church and state and are lamentably endeavouring to tear them in pieces, while by certain quibbles they altogether evade and permit others to evade the execution of the laws.

Assuredly nothing is more pernicious to a state than men of this kind. For the laws are entirely overthrown while they pretend to mitigate those which appear to them too severe. They suffer offenders to grow presumptuous, may even to insult them with impunity, and to trample underfoot and despise the respect due to the law itself.

XXVII. Venerabilis episcopus noster visitabat clerum suum apud *Beccles*, et confirmavit quamplurimos cujuscunque sexus generis et ætatis. Huic solemnitati interfui, et solus ex circumspectis cum ipso prandebam gratis; dum ipse me summa comitate et honore prosecutus est. Nec rebus ecclesiasticis solummodo animam adiecit, sed et civilibus, suscepta cura introducendi in commissionem pacis dñi. Joannes Rous baronett, Gulielm Glover, Caroli Cock, Thomas Leman, et Lionelli Playters generosorum, ex nominatione Gulielmi Cooke armigeri Norf. et mei; at his hominibus optimis occurreretur artibus neotericorum qui, sub pretextu prudentie et moderationis in ecclesiasticis, ecclesiam et statum perdunt et misere dilacerare conantur, dum legum executionem trivulgiis quibusdam interpretationibus omnino elidunt eludique patiuntur. Certe hoc hominum genere nihil pestilentius reipublice. Dum enim leges minium (ut sibi videntur) severas mitigare pretendunt, omnino evertuntur. Peccantes insolere, imo his insultare impune, reverentiamque ipsarum contemnere et spernere sinunt. Odium plebis contra eorum executores

¹ It appears by the accounts of the feoffices of the Beccles town lands that they 'disbursed for a collation to the lord bishop of Norwich and several other of his retinue, at his visitation upon the 26th and 27th days of September 1677, £1 8s. 10d.'

² See above, p. 30.

³ See above, p. 25.

⁴ Younger son of the Rev. Sir Lionel Playters, rector of Sotterley and Uggeshall, who died 5th October



Lionell *Playters*

1679, and of whom see Walker, 'Sufferings of the clergy,' ii, 334; Suckling, 'Antiquities of Suffolk,' i, 81. Mr. Lionel Playters married, in 1673, at Great Redisham,

Murtha daughter of Tolmache Castell of Rayningham in Norfolk. On the floor of Sotterley church is a stone deeply sculptured with these arms, and bearing an inscription by which it appears that Lionel Playters died 11th September 1699, in his fifty-sixth year, and was then an esquire. In Burke's 'Extinct Baronetries' it is inadvertently stated that this gentleman succeeded his brother, Sir John

Playters, as the sixth baronet of his family.

⁵ See above, p. 21.

They stir up the hatred of the common people against those who administer it; and at length they themselves who act thus become objects of contempt and ridicule, and the way is opened for a rebellion.

DECEMBER 25th. Through the very great mercy of God I partook of the holy *σάκραντα*.¹ May he grant that I may duly perform my vows, in purity and clarity, humility and patience. Amen.

The same day I received a letter from my friend John Blome, stating that Mary Brampton the daughter of my aunt at Eye,² and who went away from hence a few days ago, was supposed to be ill of the small-pox; and because my second son, who had returned home a little while before, had been sleeping with her, he kindly advised me to be on my guard.

1677-8. JANUARY 20th. The little one fell ill of this disease and was very full of it. On the 22nd, Mary Stiles, one of my servants, fell ill, and was very full. By degrees, however, she recovered.

FEBRUARY 7th. My dearest wife also fell ill. However, she had less of the eruption; but, as she was pregnant at the time, I led a miserable life, in the greatest distress of mind and body. God, however, of his pure mercy, has preserved her safe thus far.

20th. I myself sickened, and was in greater danger of dying than any other of my family. For nine days I lost the use of my eyes and my senses. For two days I

excitant; tandemque ipsi hoc facientes contemptui et ludibrio habentur, via patefacta ad rebellionem.

DEC. XXV. Sacram *σάκραντα* participavi ex misericordia maxima Dei. Is facit ut vota rite solvam puritate et charitate, humilitate et patientia! Amen.

Eadem die literas recepi a Joanne Blome, amico meo, Mariam Brampton, filiam amice mee de Eye, quæ paucis ab hinc diebus hinc abiit suspectam fuisse de variolis laborasse; et, quod filius meus secundo genitus eubisset cum ea, qui paulo ante mihi redisset, cavendum ergo amice monuit.

JAN. II. Is parvulus decubuit de hoc morbo, habuitque quamplurimos. Die 22^a Maria Stiles, una ancillarum mearum, decubuit, habuitque quamplurimos. Sanitatem tamen paulatim recuperavit.

FEB. VII. Clarissima mea femina et uxor decubuit. Pauciores tamen habuit; pregnantem autem tum temporis, maxima cum turbatione animæ et corporis vitam egi miserabilem. Deus tamen, ex mera sua misericordia, servavit incolumem lucusque.

XXVI. Ego ipse decubui; majore cum periculo mortis quam albis aliis familie mee. Per nonem dies visum oculorum et intellectum meum amisi. Per duas dies salivationem spontaneam passus sum

¹ Synaxis, communion.

² The names of John Blome and Elizabeth his wife occur in an inscription, in the north aisle of Eye church, to the memory of John their infant child, who died 31st October 1681. In the same aisle is also the grave of Thomas (son of Edward and Elizabeth) Brampton of Eye, gentleman, who died 2nd October 1712, aged 59 years.

suffered a most violent spontaneous salivation, which exhausted my strength but saved my life. At length, after tossing about in my bed for sixteen days, I rose, more like a skeleton than a man, and as weak as a new-born babe. Nor could I have escaped death if God had not, during all this time, in his very great mercy, favoured me with much sleep. The nurses, at least, acknowledged that scarcely any other person had escaped under the same circumstances. At length, however, I regained my strength, though very slowly, being kept back by fever, pustules in the throat, and other afflictions.

MARCH. At the same time my eldest son was ill, and four of my servants, one of whom died, but the other three escaped. My wife, overcome with anxiety and grief, miscarried.

[ORIGINAL.]

1678
APRIL 26th. I received from my excellent friend Mr. Brome,* rector of Woodbridge, whom I had consulted for this purpose, these directions for the improvement of this calamity to my spiritual good.

1. I would advise another person to recount his past follies and to examine the true state of his soule, with what solid peace and satisfaction hee could have passed into another world; and I would advise him to ponder on it so longe till hee had satisfied himselfe about his present state. 2. I would have advised him to pen some solemn thanksgiving for his wonderful recovery. 3. And to be very strict in paying his sick bed vows. 4. To endeavour a greater devotion in his prayers. 5. Some extraordinary instances of his charity. 6. A severe justice and righteousness in his dealing. 7. A greater care of the improvement of his precious time. 8. A strict education of his children and servants. 9. And an undaunted zeale for the church.

All these his friendship and goodness to mee made him thinke less necessary for mee, but fit for some others. But God grant I may, in an acceptable manner, observe his holy precepts: which I have entered here, that they may be often in sight and so not quite out of remembrance.

MAY 1-1 I kept a solemn thanksgiving with my whole family; using, on that occasion, Psalms xxx, lxxvi, ciii; Isaiah xxxviii; John xi; and this

Collect: O Lord God almighty, to whom belong the issues of life and death; wee, thy sinful creatures, fall downe before thee, acknowledging thy justice in the late sad affliction thou hast sent upon

Violentissimam quæ, vires exhaustit, at vitam servavit. Tandem, cum lecto volutaveram xvi dies, surrexi sceleritoni quam homini similior, debilisque ut infans recens natus. Nec mortem evasissem, nisi Deus, ex maxima misericordia sua, mihi somnum, per totum hoc tempus, quam longissime indulisset. Certe nutrices agnoverunt vix alium evasisse ex eodem circumstantiis. Tandem vero vires recepi; at lentissime febri, pustulis in gutture, et aliis miseris retentus.

MAYIS mense. Per idem tempus filius nati maximus egrotavit; et iv. ex servis meis, quorum una moritur; at nulli evaserunt. Uxor autem, metu et dolore oppressa, abortiorem fecit.

* See above, p. 5.

this family. For our sins were gone over our heads, and our trespasses were grown up to heaven; whereby we had deserved not only this but a greater and heavier chastisement. It is of thy meere mercy, O Lord, that wee were not destroyed, even because thy compassions fayled not. How then shall wee enough prayse and glorify thy goodness who, in the middest of judgment thoughtest upon mercy, and hast rescued us out of the jawes of death, not permitting the pitt to shut her mouth upon us! For which and all other thy mereys to us, thy unworthy servants, wee do most humbly and meekely beseech thee, O Lord, to accept this our sacrifice of prayse and thanksgiving, pardoning all those our great sins and follies that brought downe these judgements on us. And wee beseech thee, O Lord, to enable us, by thy grace, to spend those lives thou hast so mercifully preserved, in thy fayth and feare, in charity and justice, in temperance and sobriety, to the glory of thy holy name, through Jesus Christ our Lord: etc. Amen, amen.

[TRANSLATION.]

MCC 394. I read 'Repertorium canonicum,' a book containing an abridgment of the ecclesiastical laws of England, written by John Godolphin LL.D. London, 1678, 4to, 653 pages. Truly that book well deserves to be read by every one.^b

III. I partook of the holy communion with Elizabeth Dawson (wife of John Dawson clerk) who was ill, he himself requesting me and administering it privately.

[ORIGINAL.]

12th. This day I ended the reading of a most infamous libell intitled 'An account of the growth of popery and arbitrary government in England;' Amsterdam, 1677. An excellent character of which booke appears in another small booke writ about that time. It is 'a treasonous, libellous pamphlet, industriously now spread and dispersed into all hands about the kingdom, to rail down both houses of parliament, his royal highness, all

^a Honesty's best policy, or penitence: the sum of prudence," page the 10th.

[ORIGINAL.]

1678. MII III. Perlegi 'Repertorium canonicum,' librum continentem synopsis legum ecclesiasticarum Anglie; scriptum per Jo. Godolphin LL.D., Lond. 1678, 4to, 653 pag. Sane is liber dignissimus est ut omnibus legatur.

XI. Sacram communionem participatus sum, cum Eliz. Dawson uxore Johannis Dawson clerici rogante; ipso rogante et administrante privatim.

^b The learned civilian asserted, in that work, the king's supremacy, as a power vested in the crown before the pope invaded the jurisdiction of the realm.

^c — 'more particularly from the long prorogation of parliament of November 1675, ending the 15th of February 1676, till the last meeting of parliament, the 16th of July 1677.' 1678, fol. A reward was offered for the discovery of the writer and printer. The former is well known to have been Andrew Marvel. The 'Account' was reprinted in the 'State tracts,' 1689.

* — 'being a brief discourse in honour of the right honourable Anthony earl of Shaftsbury's humble acknowledgment and submission for his offences, upon his knees, at the bar of the house of lords, on the

the high officers of state, the king's privy council, the principal secretaries, all the judges, all other officers of the government, and the court itselfe; and then concludes all with a vile jeering carress of his majesty himselfe.'^d The author is doubtless an honest puritane; his maine designe to teach the world the necessity and lawfulness of another rebellion; and, to that end, representing all the errors of government as intended crimes, and all the governors of the nation as a pack of fooles and knaves; whereas, in truth, all the danger we ly under of popery or arbitrary government comes from the men of his faction; as his majesty wisely told the parliament, Feb. 15, 1676, 'Let all the world judge who is most for arbitrary government, they that foment such differences as tend to dissolve all parliaments, or I that would preserve this and all parliaments from being made useless by such dissentions.'^e And it is as true of the church, that they who keepe up the schisme and endeavour to introduce toleration, comprehension, and all manner of disorder, are the best factors for popery; who have no other hopes^f of conquering our aversions for them but by tanning us by the fury of our intestine enemies. So that both the one and the other, if ever they finde entertainment amongst us, must be introduced by the puritane factions amongst us. And I suspect the onely cause why they are cherished is that they may contribute to these good ends. But, whether it bee so or otherwise, they, of all men, should not complaine; because they are the causes of the danger, and must bee crushed before it can bee prevented.

[TRANSLATION]

MAR 2106. I read 'Les mémoires touchant les ambassadeurs et les ministres publics; par M. de Wicquefort. A la Haye, 1677.'^g Truly a very learned book, correctly and elegantly written, illustrated by many examples as well ancient as modern, and full of unusual occurrences.

[ORIGINAL.]

XXIV. Perlegi 'Les mémoires' [etc.]. librum sane doctissimum, pure et eleganter scriptum, multis tam antiquis quam recentibus exemplis illustratum, rebusque raro occurrentibus repletum

25th of February, 1677: together with the several proceedings of the said right honourable house, in order to his lordship's late discharge from imprisonment: published for prevention of false copies in so weighty a matter, and for the undeceiving of the people.' 4to. 18 pp. See above, p. 3, note (*).

^d After a prorogation of fifteen months, the king upbraided the houses on account of their differences and observed that the time he had given them to recollect themselves was enough to leave them without excuse if they fell into the like again! To which he added the remark quoted in the diary.

^e That is, the papists having no other hopes, etc.

^f Abraham de Wicquefort, celebrated for his embassies and his writings, was a Hollander: born 1598, and died 1682.

MAY 28th.

I went to Halesworth, to transact some business. There I found H. Stebbing^a and Edmund Bedingfield,^b sitting and deciding disputes under the recent statute concerning the poll-tax.^c We fell into conversation concerning the late treasons, the puritans, and their present attempts. I endeavoured to show that their ultimate object was the destruction of the monarchy and the bringing in a republic. I feigned myself to be one of them, that I might the more easily expose their crimes. I affected to be eager for riches and power, and to hope for them from thence. E. B. asked me what I would do with the king. I replied, We will destroy him as we before killed his father. He immediately warned me to take care what I said; as if he did not understand my manner of speaking and did not perceive that I was treating satirically what I hated above all things. I certainly could hardly believe his ignorance to be so gross and stupid. I rather suppose this proceeded from his malice; for who is such a child as to be ignorant of the common figure of speech, one so very often occurring in holy writ? Especially as he knew that I was hostile, nay a most inveterate enemy, to these men. — Rouse of Badingham was present, an irreproachable witness, and, indeed, a truly honourable gentleman.^d

JUNE 29th.

I read through a very learned book intitled 'Of idolatry: a discourse by Thomas Tenison B. D. chaplain in ordinary to his majesty.' Lond. 1678, 4to.

XXVIII. Petii Halesworth quodam negotia transigendi causa. Ibidem inveni H. Stebbings et Edmundum Bedingfield, sedentes et terminantes lites de lege nuperæ de *Poll.* Sermo erat nobis de perditionibus nuperis, puritanis et eorum presentibus tentaminibus. Conatus sum ostendere finem ultimam eorum cogitatum esse perditionem monarchiæ et introductionem republicæ. Me unum eorum esse simulavi ut facilius eorum scelera detegerem. Divitias, potentiam, simulavi cupere, et inde sperare. Interrogante E. B. quid cum rege agerem, respondi, Perdere volumus, ut ipsius patrem prius occidimus. Ille statim ut caverem quid dicerem monuit. Tanquam legem loquendi non nosceret, et me quæ odio maxime habere satyrice exagitantem non sentiret. Certe, ignorantiam ipsius vix adeo crassam et stupidam esse crederem. Ex malitia potius sua hæc prodire cogitarem; quis enim adeo infans est ut ignoraret (prosopopœiam) formam loquendi communem et sepius in sacris literis occurrentem? præsertim cum nosceret me maxime infestum, imo infensissimum, homini hominum fuisse hostem? Præsens adfuit — Rouse de Badingham, testis irreprehensibilis, generosus nimirum honestissimus.

JUNI XXIX. Perlegi librum doctissimum cui titulus '*A discourse*' [etc.]

^a Henry Stebbing esq. of Wissett. See above p. 19, further on, p. 46.

^b Son of John Bedingfield of Halesworth, and brother of the chief justice. See above, p. 16.

^c 29 and 30 Car. II, cap. I.

^d Probably Lawrence Rous, captain of militia, who died 8th March 1699, aged 83, and was buried at Badingham. He was the final representative of Sir Edward Rous of Badingham a younger brother of Sir Henry Rous ancestor of the Earl of Stradbroke.

JULY 20th.

I finished the reading of Flavius Josephus's Jewish Antiquities in Greek. Truly a very learned book, written with wonderful eloquence, as well as wisdom, and no less learning; yet abounding with numberless errors, in some places manifest, in others latent; and not free from idioms with which, for my part, I am unacquainted.

AUGUST 20th.

I talked very much more than was becoming. I must be cautious in future.

SEPTEMBER 3d.

I read the Vindication and illustration of the code of canons of the primitive church;¹ by William Beveridge, a priest of the church of England; 4to London, 1678; truly a most learned book, written with the greatest clearness, learning, and force of reasoning, and supported by the authority of the fathers and earliest councils; setting forth before us numerous rites of remote antiquity which had been involved in obscurity; but proving the errors of the presbyterians and their departures from the ancient church, ἀνατιπρήγας.²

OCTOBER 11th.

Read the history of Arianism, by Louis de Mainbourg 'de la compagnie de Jesus,' three vols. 8vo, Paris, 1673.³ Very well written, except where he treats of the affairs of the Romish church; for there, without shame, he relates the greatest falsehoods for probabilities, probabilities and uncertainties for facts.

NOVEMBER 5th.

Read 'Martini Hankii de Byzantinorum rerum scriptoribus grecis liber. Autorum quinquaginta, qui de Constantinopolitanis aliisque tam civilibus quam ecclesiasticis antiquitatibus monumenta nobis reliquerunt, vitæ, scripta, de scriptis

JULY XX. Perfeci lectionem Flavii Josephi Antiquitatum Judaicarum Græcæ. librum sane doctissimum, mira eloquentia pariter et prudentia nec minori doctrina scriptum; mendis tamen innumeris scatentem, alibi manifestis, alibi latentibus; idiotisans vero, mihi saltem, ignotis non carentem.

Aug. XX. Liberius quam decebat plurima locutus sum: cavendum ergo in posterum.

SEPT. III. Perlegi vindicationem et illustrationem codicis canonum ecclesie primitivæ; per Gulielmum Beveridgeum, ecclesie Anglicanæ presbyterum, 4to, Londini, 1678. Labrum sane doctissimum, summa perspicuitate, doctrina, rationeque, scriptum; autoritate patrum et conciliorum antiqui sinorum munitum, ritus quam plurimos antiquissimos tenebrisque involutos nobis exhibentem, presbyterorum vero ergores et ab antiqua ecclesia digressiones ἀνατιπρήγας demonstrantem.

OCT. IV. Lecta est historia Arianismi Ludovici de Mainbourg, 'de la compagnie de Jesus,' III vol. 8vo, a Paris, 1673. Optime scripta; præterquam nia res ecclesie Romanæ agit; ubi enim, nulla modestia, res falsissimas pro verisimilibus, verisimilia et incerta pro competitis, tradit.

Nov. V. Lectus est liber Martini Hankii [et c.] Opus sane titulo respondit; summa vero industria

¹ 'Codex canonum ecclesie primitivæ vindicatus ac illustratus.'

² Unanswerably.

³ An english translation by Webster, 'with an appendix containing an account of the english writers in the Socinian and Arian controversies,' appeared in 1728; 2 vols. 4to.

judicia, distinctiorem in modum recenset.'^a The work answers well to its title. Indeed it is collected and compiled with the utmost industry and labour, but written in a rather obscure and not very pleasing style. The author appears to me to have been a Lutheran where he treats of the iconoclastic emperors and the schism of the Greeks. He before wrote, 'De autoribus Romani imperii.'^b

NOVEMBER 26th. At this time I read a book intituled 'The new art of lying, covered by Jesuites under the vail of equivocation, discovered and disproved; by Henry Mason.'^c London, 1634, 12mo. Which book my very dear friend John Dawson clerk, vicar of the parish of Westhall, lent me. The author has proved that this 'art' is of very recent date; hinted at however by the ancient schoolmen,^d fostered and brought to its perfection in the Roman court by a certain Navarre, in the time of Gregory XIII, 'practised especially by the Jesuits of our own country and 'polished' by their writings in order to deceive us in all things.' I will transcribe the words of one concerning our oath of allegiance :

'Vide in tanta astutia quanta sit simplicitas. Quum omnia securitatem in eo juramento sibi statuisset talem se modum juramenti tot circumstantiis commixuisse existimabat, qui, salva conscientia, nulla ratione a quoquam dissolvi posset. Sed videre non potuit, si pontifex juramentum dissolverit, omnes illius nexus, sive de fidelitate regi prestanda, sive de dispensatione non admittenda, pariter dissolutos fore. Immo aliud dicam admirabilius. Nosti, credo, juramentum injustum, si tale

et labore collectum et conpaginatum, stilo vero obscure, minusque jucundo scriptum. Autor vero videtur mihi Lutheranus fuisse, ubi de iconoclastis imperatoribus et schismate Græcorum agit. Scripsit autem, 'De autoribus Romani imperii.'

XXVI. Lagi, his diebus, librum cui titulus, '*The new art of lying*,' [etc]. Quem librum mihi accommodavit Joannes Dawson, clericus, parochi de Westhall vicarius, amicus meus carissimus. Artem hanc recentissimam probavit; a scholasticis tamen antiquis intinatum; curia Romana a Navarre quodam, tempore Gregorii XIII, nutritam et ad perfectionem suam exaltatam, a Jesuitis præcipue nostratibus usitatum, et scriptis suis illustratum, et illud erit nobis in omnibus. Unius verba de juramento nostro fidelitatis exscribam: 'Vide' [etc.] Idem sic concludit: 'Vides' [etc.] Hinc, ergo, videmus unde

^a Lips. 1677, 4to. Martin Haskies, an eminent professor of morality, history and politics, was born at Breslau, 1633; and died 1709. Of his numerous books, those concerning the writers on Roman and Byzantine history have been the most esteemed. Each article comprised the life of the historian, a list of his writings, and the various opinions critics had entertained respecting him. Biog. univ.

^b Lips. 1669-75, 2 vols. 4to.

^c Rector of St. Andrew Undershaft, London, 'where by his exemplary life, edifying and judicious preaching and writing, he did great benefit.' In 1611 he lost his preferment. He died in August 1647, aged about seventy-four. The book mentioned in the diary appeared in 1624, 4to, and again in 1634, 12mo. Bodl. Svo B. 231. Line. Wood, Ath. Oxon. ed. Bliss, iii, 220.

^d 'The new art of lying,' ed. 1624, pp. 23, 25.

^e Ibid. p. 33.

^f Ibid. pp. 33, 35, 40.

esse evidenter sciatur, vel aperte declaretur, neminem obligare; regis juramentum injustum esse, ab ipso ecclesie pastore sufficienter declaratum est. Barthol. Paccinus, *Εἰς τὰς*. Epistol. Monit. Jacob. regis, lit. B. 2 & 3.¹

The same writer draws the following inference:

‘Vides igitur jam in funum abiisse illius obligationem; ut vinculum quod a tot sapientibus ferreum putabatur minus sit quam stramineum.’¹

Here, then, we may see where our puritans sharpened the shears with which, at pleasure, they sever the bonds of all our oaths, “yea, without the interposition of the pontiff; for every one of them dispenses this power for himself. But they are the sworn enemies of the papists: God grant it may be of their religion! It is not of their dogmas: of these they are copyists and most strenuous defenders. For both have

forcipes acceperunt et puritani nostri, quibus nexus omnium nostrorum juramentorum, ad libitum suum, solvunt, immo sine interpositione pontificis; hujus enim potestatis quisque sibi dispensator. At inimici sunt juratis-hui papistarum; favit religionis sue: non dogmatum, quoniam exscriptores et vindices sunt acerrimi. Hinc enim argumenta sua mutuo sumpserunt quibus nuperam rebellionem promoverunt, hinc

‘Mason quotes these passages in the margin of his book. In the text, after remarking that there is not ‘any thing which man’s wit can devise, that may restrain or keepe backe these equivocators from deluding us, so that no oathes, how warily and carefully soever they be framed, can hold these men, further than themselves will’, he embodies the sense of the extracts, as follows. ‘Paccinus, discoursing of the oath of allegiance, laugheth at the simplicitie, (as hee calleth it) of our king and state, who thought, by that oath, to provide for their safetie, as having hedged it about with so many circumstances, as that, to their thinking, no man could winde himselfe out of it with a safe conscience. But they consider not, saith hee, that if the pope shall dissolve this oath, all the bands of it, either for performance of fidelitie towards the king, or for not admitting a dispensation from Rome, are shattered in pieces. Nay, I will say one other thing, saith hee, that is more admirable: an unjust oath, when it is declared to be such, bindeth no man; but that this oath is unjust, hath bene sufficiently declared by the pastor of the church. Hee meaneth the pope. And hereupon hee inferreth, in an insulting manner, thou seest now, saith hee, that the band of that oath is vanished into smook; so that the band which so many wise men thought to be as strong as iron, proveth weaker than straw.’ Mason proceeds: ‘and yet, methinketh, aliud admirabilius, the equivocators have found a more admirable device than this of Paccinus is. For he sendeth a man to Rome, to fetch a dispensation thence, or to get the pope’s declaration of the unlawfulnessse of the oath; and then they may breake all. But our equivocators have that at home and within their own breasts, that may free them from all. For if themselves doe but thinke that the thing is unlawfull, or that they have some reasonable cause to dissemble, they may take this or any other oath whatsoever, and, by an equivocall reservation, breake the band of that oath, before they take it.’ ‘The new art of lying,’ pp. 53, 54.

¹Those who, with the writer of the diary, ten years later, took the oath of allegiance to William and Mary, were sharply reminded, by the nonjurors, of the ‘equivocation’ which some of them had so earnestly and justly condemned in the Jesuits. See *Clar. Corr.* ii, 264, 266.

derived from hence the arguments by which they promoted the late rebellion, from hence the license of lying, the devices of disloyalty and its justification, contempt and insolence towards kings. If you doubt it, read the preface of the book intitled 'The Jesuits' loyalty.'*

DECEMBER 21th. I read the life of Peter D'Aubusson, grand master of the knights of St. John of Rhodes, wherein two sieges by the Turks, distinguished by very important events, are elegantly described and, as it were, instilled into the reader's mind. In English, London, 1679.

25th. Henry Stebbing esq. departed this life: one of the justices of the peace for this county, and a very kind old gentleman of eighty, remarkable for his knowledge of law, the government of his passions, and also for his general learning. But he affected business too much, both his own and that of his friends, and did mischief by favouring the new-fangled people. In other respects he was a good subject and a most excellent friend to me.^w

mentendi licentiam, proditionis et artes et justificationes, contemptum et contumelias in reges. Si dubitas, lege prefamina libri cui titulus 'The Jesuits' loyalty.'

DEC. XXIV. Lecta est historia Petri D'Aubusson, natus magistri militum Sti. Joannis de Rhodes; in qua due obsidiones Turcorum maximis eventus insignes eleganter depictæ sunt, et quasi animis lectorum insecutæ. Anglice, London. 1679.

XXVIII. Ex hac vita migravit Henricus Stebbing armiger, unus circumspectiorum hujus comitatus, octogenarius nullisiam senex, jurisprudentia, affectuum suorum regimine, nec non et omni doctrinam scientia insignis. At rebus tam suis quam amicorum minima studuit; moderatiorque favendo nocebat. Ceteris bonus subditus mihiq. amicus optimus.

* 'The Jesuits' loyalty manifested in three several treatises lately written by them against the oath of allegiance; with a preface shewing the pernicious consequence of their principles as to civil government.' Lond. 1677. 4to. The writer of the preface contended that the Jesuits, unless they renounced the pope's power of deposing princes and absolving subjects from their allegiance, could give no real security to government; and he represented republicans and papists as being agreed in the notion that princes, upon mal-administration, might be deprived of their authority; quoting Roman catholic writers who contended that the opposite opinion was 'against the law of nations and the common reason of mankind'; and, moreover, that no obedience was due to an heretical prince. Pp. 9, 10. Our diarist lived to see the day when the question of the pope's supremacy in England and that of the natural right of the people to limit the absolutism of hereditary monarchy were both, it may be hoped for ever, set at rest.

^w See above, pp. 19, 12. The family of Stebbing was long domiciled, at Kettleburgh and Earl Soham in Suffolk. The Henry Stebbing of the diary married Sarah daughter and heiress of Ciprian Sallows of Wissett, on the 6th June 1657, and was buried there, 31st December 1678. His two daughters and co-heiresses, Sarah and Elizabeth, were married, the former to George Fleetwood esq. of Chediston, Suffolk, a younger son of the lord deputy of Ireland, the latter to Richard Jenkenson, gentleman.

1678-9.
JANUARY 1680.

I read the sermon of the very reverend John Tillotson, D. D. dean of Canterbury, preached before the house of commons on the 5th of November last,* upon Luke ix. 55, 56; which, among other things, has this on the Romish religion, p. 19:

‘How much righter apprehensions had the heathen of the divine nature; which they looked upon as so benign and beneficial to mankind, that, as Tully admirably says, *Dii immortales ad usum hominum fabricati pene videntur*: the nature of the immortal Gods may almost seem to be exactly framed for the benefit and advantage of men. And as for religion, they always speak of it as the great band of human society and the foundation of truth and fidelity and justice among men. But when religion once comes to supplant moral righteousness, and to teach men the absurd things in the world, to lye for the truth, and to kill men for God’s sake: when it serves to no other purpose but to be a bond of conspiracy, to inflame the tempers of men to a greater fierceness and to set a keener edge upon their spirits, and to make them ten times more the children of wrath and cruelty than they were by nature, then, surely, it loses its nature, and ceases to be religion. For let any man say worse of atheism and infidelity, if he can. And, for God’s sake, what is religion good for, but to reform the manners and dispositions of men, to restrain human nature from violence and cruelty, from falsehood and treachery, from sedition and rebellion? Better it were there were no revealed religion, and that human nature were left to the conduct of its own principles and inclinations, which are much more mild and merciful, much more for the peace and happiness of human society, than to be acted by a religion that inspires men with so wild a fury, and prompts them to commit such outrages, and is continually supplanting government and undermining the welfare of mankind; in short, such a religion as teaches men to propagate and advance itself by means so evidently contrary to the very nature and end of all religion.’

10th.

I read Daniel Langhorne’s ‘*Chronicon regum Anglorum, insignia omnia eorum gesta, tum bellica ac civilia tum ecclesiastica, ab Hengisto rege primo usque ad Heptarchiæ finem chronologice exhibens.*’[†] Collected, with the greatest industry and discernment, from our oldest historians, and set forth in their own words.

28th.

I read ‘*Blakloane hæresis, olim Pelagio et Manichæis damnatæ nunc demum resurgentis, historia et confutatio; auctore M. Lomino theologo: Gandavi, 1675.*’
4to. Wherein I notice there were very many most bitter controversies in the Romish

JAN. III. Lecta est oratio reverendissimi viri Joannis Tillotson D. D. decani Doroberniæ, habita coram concessa inferiori vº die mensis Novembris ultime clapsi super *Luke ix. 55, 56*; qua, inter alia, hæc habet, de religione Romana, pagine 19: ‘*How much*’ [etc.]

x. Lecti Danielis Langhorui ‘*Chronicon,*’ [etc.] ‘*chronologice*’ exhibentem. Maxima tum industria cum prudentia collectum ex antiquissimis nostris historicis et propriis suis verbis reperiendum.

XXVIII. Lecta est ‘*Blakloane hæresis*’ [etc.] 4to edita. Ubi plurimas in ecclesia Romana contentiones acerrimas observo aliosque melius de christiana religione sentire, alios pejus, et hæresin invicem

* Lond. 1678, 4to. Tillotson’s works, fol. 1728, p. 162.

† ‘*Una cum regum catalogis et schematibus genealogicis cupro incisis.*’ Lond. 1679.

church; that some of them judge better concerning christianity, others worse; and that they, not undeservedly, charge each other with heresy. But here I will not omit that this Blacklow, otherwise White, was an English papist; and our author, who is also of that religion, relates, (page 21) that he wrote 'possimum maximeque haereticum librum, De obedientia et regimine contra jus regis' (Car. II) 'exultantis in

objectare meritoque. At hic omittere nolo, Blacklow hunc, alias *White*, Anglum et papistam, ut auctor, ejusdem religionis, tradit, pag. 21; scripsisse 'possimum' [etc.]; ubi docet 'monarchum,' [etc.]

Thomas White, an eminent Roman catholic priest, and grandson of Edmund Plowden the great lawyer, appears also under the various names of Albius, de Albiis, Candidus, Bianchi, Vitus, and Blacklous or Blacklow; the last perhaps merely a sobriquet, 'the hostile term of keen antithesis.' He was sent to the English college at Douay; was ordained a priest in 1617; and was long employed in teaching philosophy and divinity. He died in London, 6th July 1676, at the age of ninety four. His book concerning 'obedience and government' and several of his other writings were laid before the inquisition and censured by that court. The points of doctrine considered the most offensive are contained in his preface to 'Rushworth's dialogues,' Paris, 1654, 8vo; and in his 'Institutionum ethicarum sive statutorum morum', 3 vols. Lond. 1660, 8vo. White held that the belief which is not either self-evident or capable of being demonstrated by evidence from tradition or revelation, is but foolish superstition; that no pious disposition of the will is requisite to incline the understanding to a correct creed; that it is sinful to profess or preach the faith without possessing the positive demonstrative conviction of its truth; that every act of faith unconnected with such absolute certainty is false; and that weak and well-meaning catholics who have not this certainty do not possess true faith, yet may be saved by a weaker degree of faith, by simple credulity. The chief opponent of these views was George Leyburn, to whom White had taught philosophy at Douay and who was afterwards president of that college. They were also controverted by Peter Talbot, titular archbishop of Dublin, who published 'An efficacious remedy against atheism and heresy, and especially against the heresy of Thomas White alias Blacklow,' Paris, 1674, 8vo; and 'The history of Manicheism and Pelagianism, in which is shown that Thomas White alias Blacklow and his followers have revived these heresies,' Paris 1674, 8vo. It is said that Talbot had ready for the press, in 1676, a book intitled 'Pugna fidei et rationis cum renascente Pelagianismo et Manicheismo.' Another leader of the Blackloists was John Sargent, also a voluminous Roman catholic writer; whose errors were laid before the inquisition by archbishop Talbot, together with the attestation of fifteen priests. One of these priests appears to have been the compiler of the now curious and rare book which Mr. Bohun had been reading. It has been ascribed to Peter Talbot, of whose publications on the same subject the writer of 'Blackloane heresis' has, indeed, made extensive use. Dodd, 'Church history of England', Brussels, 1712, fol. vol. iii, 284, 285; Sir James Ware, Works, iii, 491; Blackl. her. pp. 22, 331; Wood, Ath. Oxon. ed. Bliss, iii, 1217.

* 1652, 4to; 1655, 8vo. In that tract White defended submission to Cromwell's government on the authority of St. Paul, 'The powers that be are ordained of God.' Whiston quoted largely from it, in a letter which he addressed to the papists during the rebellion of 1715, to show their obedience to the government to be just and lawful from their own principles. Nich. Lit. anc. i, 505. But they upon whom Whiston urged his argument had pronounced concerning White and his followers, 'nomine duntaxat catholicos esse Blackloistas.' Blackl. her. p. 13.

favorem Cromwelli;’ wherein he teaches—‘monarchiam, seu jure sive injuria, sede sua pulsum, nisi sponte juri regnandi cesserit esse infideli deteriore; item omnes qui subditi fuerant regis ita solio suo turbati, teneri, ad ei pro virili resistendum; et, si regredi conetur, acque licite possunt eum occidere, ac occidere tygridem in ceno.’^b

This doctrine is heretical while the king is reigning and prosperous, but when he is deposed and exiled will be particularly catholic again! Witness that damnable Jesuitical conspiracy against the king,^c lately formed and detected, from the danger of which we are, even now, by no means free.

That very learned lawyer Henry Bedingfield most kindly lent me this book.^d

JANUARY 21st The longest English parliament was dissolved. It began 8th May 1661.^e

Hæc doctrina regnante et florete rege hæretica, at depulso et exulante maxime catholica erit iterum! Testor damnabilem illam conjurationem Jesuiticam nuper in hunc regem initam et detectam, ejus adhuc periculo liberi minime sumus.

Hunc librum benignissime accommodavit mihi Hen. Bedingfield doctissimus jurisconsultus.

XXIV. Conventio statuum Angliæ illa longissima dissoluta est. Incepit 8^o die mensis Maii 1661.

^b Blak. her. p. 21.—That he wrote ‘a vile and most heretical book on obedience and government, against the right of the exiled king’, Charles II., ‘in favour of Cromwell,’ wherein he teaches ‘that a sovereign who is driven from his seat, whether justly or otherwise, is worse than an infidel unless he voluntarily abdicates; and also that all who had been subjects of a king thus hurled from his throne are bound to resist him to the utmost, and that if he should attempt to return they may with as much propriety kill him as they may kill a tiger in the desert.’

^c By Titus Oates and his confederates.

^d See above, p. 16. Sir Henry Bedingfield, whom Roger North styles ‘a grave but rather heavy lawyer, a good churchman, and loyal by principle’, was made a judge of the court of common pleas, 10th February 1685-6, in the place of justice Layard, who was discharged on account of the opinion he had given concerning the king’s dispensing power. On the 21st of April following, Sir Henry was sworn lord chief justice of the common pleas, instead of Sir Thomas Jones, whose removal is attributed to the same cause. On Sunday 6th February 1686-7, Sir Henry, ‘having received the sacrament in both kinds, was observed to deliver the chalice with some trembling into the hands of the minister that officiated. never spake more; but fell into a fit of apoplexie, and died quickly after; though a veine was opened; but he bled not.’ Sir John Bramston’s Autobiography, (Cam. soc.) 224, 223, 268. The chief justice died at the age of fifty four. The circumstances of his death are recorded upon his monument in Halesworth church; and in addition to the inscription printed by the Rev. A. Suckling, Suff. ant. ii, 312, there are added some quaint lines, by Thomas Bedingfield M. D.—

‘Cerna maritalis fuit hæc, sponsi Deus et tu;

Dum cepis ipse Deum, te cepit ipse Deus.’

^e A new parliament met on the 6th of March, a ‘healing parliament’ the king said he desired it should be. His first act was to reject, without assigning a reason, the speaker elected by the commons their first debate a resolute assertion of their privileges.

1680
SEPTEMBER 20th

I visited my cousin,^f who was ill, and persuaded him, as I had done before, to make a will. At first he refused. Afterward, yielding to my arguments, he promised; and told me thus far: that Henry Bedingfield should be his executor; that his estates should be entailed; but that if he should die without issue he wished his hereditary estates to be sold and equally divided among his relations, and that his wife's estates should be given back to her family. To this last I answered that none of that family either had or were likely to have any issue. But he replied he would inquire, and if he found any he would give them to such issue. I have heard this before, from others, but did not believe it.

1681.
JULY 6th.

About this time I began to write a book intituled 'An address to the freemen and freeholders of the nation'; and I finished it, in three parts, on the 15th of October following. The first two I sent away to be printed.

1680. SEPT. XX. Visitavi patruclum meum aegrotantem; et ut testamentum conderet postulaui, ut et antea fecissem. Primo remissus est, dein, rationibus meis victus, promisit; et quatenus dixit. Henricum Bedingfield futurum suum executorem; terras suas heredi suo sub lege daturus successionis (anglice *entailed*); at si sine heredibus decederet, hereditarias terras vendi voluit et aequaliter inter affines dividi; terras vero uxoris suae ejus familiae redonari. Huic postremo respondi nominem ex ea familia prolem vel habere vel habiturum. Retulit ut quaeriturum, et si invenisset daturum tali. Hoc antea ex aliis audivissem, at non credidissem.

1681. JULII VI. Circa haec tempora incepti scribere librum cui titulus '*An address*' [etc.] et tribus libris absolvi decimo quinto die Octobris sequentis: duos priores vero, ut imprimantur, amandavi.

^f 'Patruclum,' perhaps inadvertently written for 'patrum.' Edmund Bohun, uncle of the diarist, had, at the above date, an only surviving son, a minor, afterwards the father of Mrs. Mary Otley.

* 'An address to the freemen and freeholders of the nation.' Lond. 1682, 4to. 'The second part of the address' etc. 'By the same author.' 1682. 'The third and last part' etc. 'By the same author.' 1683.

In a lengthy preface to the first portion of this 'address' the writer states that 'having many years, from the course of things, conjectured what would be the event of them,' and 'finding the disturbers of our peace every day more insolent, and not only to whisper their disloyal principles in corners but publicly' and successfully 'own them in the face of the sun,' he had resolved to do the best he could 'to stop that inundation of mi-ery.' The discourse was intended, however, not for 'the great and learned' but for his 'country neighbours' who, not having leisure for reflection, were 'harried on by a great zeal against popery and arbitrary government.' As the best safeguard from these evils he recommends a stout adherence to 'the religion established, and the monarchy', predicting that if, on the other hand, the country 'should be shattered into factions in religion and every man permitted not only to follow but to teach his own fancies and modes of religious worship,' the Jesuits would 'under the disguises of such men, instil what principles they pleased into the common people, and wherewithle them into popery again . . . or put them upon other things' that were 'full as bad.' 'Would you' says Mr. Bohun, 'when his majesty permits it, those honest country gentlemen that love neither the dissenters nor the papists, they would secure you and the nation from popery, arbitrary government, another war, and the change of the government; and England should once more become the balance of Christendom,

DECEMBER 25th. I received the communion in the parish church of Westhall. In the previous week I was obliged to go to Ipswich, and I returned on Friday; so I lost the opportunity of examining myself with the diligence which was my duty and as, by the grace of God, I desired. From my inmost heart, I implore his mercy, through Jesus Christ my Lord.

JANUARY 2
MARCH 15th. I received the first part of my book before-mentioned, printed. And when I received the second part I corrected it, prefixed an introduction, and sent it back to be printed, on the 10th of April 1682.^b

DIE. XXV. Accepi communionem in ecclesia parochiali de Westhall. Hædomade priori cometas sum ire ad Gyppovicum; rediit vero die Veneris; ita peridi opportunitatem meipsum examinandi ea diligentia qua debui et volui cum gratia Dei, ejus misericordiam ex intimo corde imploro, per J. Ch. D. Amen.

1681-2. MARTII XVIII. Accepi priorem partem libri mei prædicti impressam. Recepta vera secunda parte, correxi. Præfationem præposui; et remisi ut imprimeretur, decimo die Aprilis, A. D. 1682

the terror of France, the bulwark of the reformed religion, the joy and paradise of the whole earth. The avowed object of the 'Address' is to show how this paradisaical state had been lost, and to disabuse the minds of those who were deceived by imaginary fears and jealousies, like the timid deer, more alarmed by a 'line of painted feathers' than by 'real dangers.'

In the first part of the 'Address' itself our author dwells, mainly and as a principle cause of the political 'distempers' of the people, upon 'diversity of religions.' Pursuing a somewhat obsolete line of argument and in which religious freedom finds no place, he enumerates the forms of this 'diversity'—first, the established religion; secondly, that of the papists, 'destructive of the interest, honour, sovereignty, and wealth of the English nation'; thirdly, that of the dissenters, whose 'name is legion' and with whom are classed, not only those who conformed to escape penalties and to qualify, but the semi-conforming clergy who played 'fast and loose with their oaths and subscriptions' that they might have 'liberty of preaching', and those who were deluded by their zealous pretences for preserving protestantism; also the advocates of presbyterianism, a thing 'hatched in rebellion and inconsistent with monarchy and freedom', and of independency, 'advancing the banner of a general toleration to all heresies and schisms save church of England men and papists.' 'Go on',—is the earnest advice of justice Bohan to his neighbours—'with prudence and courage, to extirpate this scandal of christianity.'

Several pages, towards the close of the tract, are occupied with an account of the proceedings in the session of parliament which began 21st October 1678 and immediately preceded the dissolution which took place 21th January 1678-9.

^bTo the second part of the 'Address' is prefixed an introduction of twenty five pages, from which it appears that the former pamphlet had met with a 'kind reception' in the world. The author in this preface rambles into a discourse on the injury to trade brought about by an unstable government, and by 'factions'; as, by those 'godly men' who, growing impatient and fleeing into Holland, 'instructed the Dutch in our woollen manufactures of Norfolk and Suffolk'; by those who 'had before planted themselves in New England', where they had grown numerous and rich, and had 'abundantly practised that severity upon others which they clamoured against and called persecution when it was used with more reason against themselves'; and again, 'by the villainies, treachery, perjury, and impity' of

1682.
 April 10th.
 Easter day.

I partook of the holy communion in Westhall church; having prepared for it with great difficulty, in consequence of disputes between Mr. D. and myself, arising from causes of no importance indeed but urged with warmth of temper on both sides. At length, however, we were reconciled. God grant that our contention may not break out again with greater violence; which I sadly fear, since the grounds of it are not removed. For, neither has he what

1682. APRILIS XVI. Die set. paschatis. Sacram communionem participavi in ecclesia de Westhall. Magna difficultate ad id preparatus, quodis inter magistrum D. et me intercedentibus; ex causis quidem non magnis sed fervidis passionibus, utrinque agitatis. Tandem vero in gratiam rediebamur. Favit Deus ut contentiones nostre non erumpant iterum, majori violentia; quod male nutio, non sublati radicibus. Nam nec ille quod ei debet, habet, quantum solvere voluit; nec quod alii debet

Oliver Cromwell! This second portion of the work contains an account of the proceedings of the parliament which met 6th March 1678-9, and of the Scotch rebellion.

The third part is ushered in by an 'epistle dedicatory' of twenty two pages 'to all loyal persons in the nation who addressed to his majesty to thank him for his late gracious Declaration', issued to explain and justify the sudden dissolution of the Oxford parliament. Mr. Bohun observes that, to save the state from ruin, supplies must be granted, and some other 'effectual means' taken. Among which means he urges 'a universal execution of the laws against dissenters' and their conventicles, the distribution of the loyal discourses that were 'every day printed', the keeping 'factious men out of places of trust, power, or profit, a surrender of the charters of the corporations into his majesty's hands, and the taking out of new ones 'with such restrictions as he and his council' might think fit. He avows his opinion that if any difference should arise it would be improper 'to resist the king or to assist his great council against him, with force and arms, though the king should be in the wrong and they in the right; for *that*', he remarks, alluding to the statute xiii Car. II, cap. 6, 'is determined in parliament already.'

This concluding portion of the 'Address to the freemen' is occupied with a narrative (taken, as also the preceding accounts had been, from the printed journals) of the proceedings in the parliament which was summoned to meet 17th October 1679, and prorogued from time to time till 21st October 1680, together with some intermediate occurrences. Towards the close the author thus asserts the purity of his motive: 'My dearest countrymen, I humbly beg you would be pleased to reflect seriously and unite heartily with his majesty, our most gracious and sweet-natured sovereign, and the religion established.

... I have laid the matter plainly before you, not knowing what may follow as to myself; but this I am sure of, that advantage I can have none by it. I am a private person, and I expect so to live and die. I have no aim at any public employment or place of trust, nor any means to attain it if I had. I am contented with the state God hath set me in; and the utmost I wish for is to leave things to my posterity as they ought now to be if the laws had their due effects; and therefore I am compelled by nothing but my zealous affection for my country (which next God and my own soul I love above all things) to run the hazard of giving you this advice, and thereby drawing upon me the malice and revenge of all those that seek to ruin and enslave you.'

Although the present note may extend to an undesirable length, this seems the most proper place to mention another of Mr. Bohun's publications, not noticed in the diary, but which is usually found appended to the 'Address to the freemen.' The above mentioned 'Declaration' by the king

I owe him, although I wished to pay, nor has he intimated that he was willing to pay what he owes to another. However, as much as in me lies, I will avoid quarrelling with him, and if he demands more than I owe, will suffer with as much patience and moderation as possible, and with as much assiduity and gentleness as I can will bring him back to what is just, quietly bearing insults, if it must be so.

‘Non sunt participes hujus gaudii quos damnat ambitio: non potest furtivos habens loculos paschalibus solemnibus interesse. Nihil proditor et venditor magistrâ, fermentator profanus commune habet cum azymis. Omnis immundus in anima ad esum hujus Agni prohibetur accedere. Nulla ad hanc letitiam pertidia recipitur. Omnis malignitas excluditur. Calcatus pedibus ad evangelizandum paratus, accinctus cingibus et sanctimonie destinatus, habens baculum in manibus, et festinus ut Ægypti descendat idola, sequens Moysen, nec formidans viæ discrimina, quisque purus et sincerus, sine fraude homo verus, accedat et edat. Et securus quod resurgat mortem optet, ut attingat ad æterna gaudia, in quibus est vita nostra sursum manens et nos trahens ad bona cœlestia.’ *Sic Cyprian, ‘De resurrectione Christi,’ thuc.*

Thus the holy ancient fathers served our Saviour at the risk of life; and shall not I serve him in peace and quietness?

solvere se velle inquit. Ego vero, quod in me est, contentionem cum ipso vitabo; et, si plus quam debeo peti, quanta possum patientiâ et modestiâ sufferam; et ipsum ad justitiam redigam quanta possum industria et lenitate, opprobria, si ita fecit, placide ferens.

‘Non sunt participes’ [etc.] Sic sancti et antiqui patres: cum vite periculo Servatori nostro famulati sunt; et non ego in pace et tranquillitate?

called forth an answer said to have been drawn up by Somers from a sketch by Algernon Sydney and published under the title of ‘A just and modest vindication of the last two parliaments.’ The third part of Mr. Bohun’s work was going to press when he read the ‘vindication’. He wrote some reflections upon it, intending them as a preface to his own tract. But after submitting the MS. to ‘a person of great worth and judgment,’ he decided to publish it in a separate form. This production is intitled ‘Reflections on a pamphlet stiled A just and modest vindication’ etc. ‘or, a defence of his majesty’s late Declaration: by the author of the Address to the freemen and freeholders of the nation.’ Lond. 1683, 4to. Resembling, in its general tone, the ‘Address to the freeman’, the pamphlet is not without interest as embodying some of the arguments which were current among the loyal party.

‘De cardinalibus Christi operibus’. Cyp. ed. Morell, Paris, 1564, p. 401. This treatise which, in some early editions, was attributed to Cyprian, is now recognised as the work of Arnold abbot of Bona Vallis. ‘Those who are cursed by ambition are not partakers of this joy. He who holds stolen purses cannot take part in the paschal solemnities. One who betrays and sells his master, the profane eater of leavened bread, has nothing in common with him who eateth unleavened. Every one of polluted soul is forbidden to approach and eat of this Lamb. No perfidy is admitted to this joyful feast. All malice is excluded. With sandalled feet, prepared to preach the gospel, with loins girt, and with devoted holiness, with staff in hand and hasting to forsake the idols of Egypt, following Moses nor fearing the dangers of the way, let every one who is pure and sincere, truthful and without guile, approach and eat; and certain of the resurrection, let him wish for death that he may attain to the eternal joys in which is our life, abiding above, and drawing us towards heavenly blessings.’

'Question. What is required of them who come to the Lord's supper?

Answer. To examine themselves, whether they repent them truly of their former sins, steadfastly purposing to lead a new life, (2) have a lively faith in God's mercy through Christ, (3) with a thankful remembrance of his death, (4) and be in charity with all men.' Catechism.

DECEMBER 23rd. Now that I am preparing myself for this most holy mystery, I ought to examine myself on these four points. And first, I do indeed think with grief of my past life, especially when I call to mind how ill I have done in the things pertaining to my God. Nor have I acted well towards my neighbour, much less towards myself. Have mercy upon me, O God. But when I contemplate my purpose with respect to my future life I tremble still more; for how can I, who have so often vowed and not performed, promise better fruit either to God or myself? What then? Shall I sink beneath the burden of my sins and yield the victory to my enemies? By no means. I have undertaken the warfare: I neither can nor will be at peace with them. Strengthen my frailty and weakness, O Jesus. Thou art the conqueror: I, miserable man! can scarcely stand, and am unable to resist and repel, much less conquer. Thou art my strength and the rock of my salvation. But even my faith is very weak. It is driven hither and thither by temptations. It lives ready to die, and will perish unless Thou, who art its author, sustain it. By the mercy of God, therefore, through Thee, I hope to have salvation and remission of sins. To thee, then, O Jesus, I give the most hearty thanks that with so great love thou hast redeemed miserable me by thy blood. Without that blood I know and believe that I should have perished: redeemed by it I hope to possess eternal life, and to be sanctified in this world.

With mankind, indeed, I desire to lead a peaceable life but am not able to maintain it. Some oppress, others provoke, others injure, others harass me. And I, impatient,

'Q. Quid ab iis requiritur qui accedunt ad cenam Domini? R. Ut probent seipsos, num vere precedentium peccatorum eos poeniteat, firmiter propositum habentes novam vitam instituendi; (2) num fidem vivam habeant in misericordia Dei per Christum, (3) grata memoria mortem illius recolentes, (4) nam tandem ea qua par est charitate omnes amplectantur.' Cat. Augl.

DEC. XXIII. Cum me nunc huic sacerrimo mysterio adparo de his quatuor interrogare meipsum debeo. Et primum de vita mea anteaquam cum dolore quidem cogito; precepit enim revolo quam male in iis que ad Deum meum pertinent feci; nec bene cum vicinis egi, multo minus cum meipso. Misere mei, O Deus. Cum vero propositum meum de futura vita prospicio, magis adhuc horresco, qui enim frugem meliorem promittere vel Deo vel mihi possum qui toties promisi et non implevi? Quid ego? Succumbam oneri peccatorum et victoriam cedam inimicis meis? Minime. Bellum suscepi pacem cum iis habere nec possum nec volo. Fortifica fragilitatem et inbecillitatem meam, O Jesu. Tu victor: ego miser vix stare at non resistere et repugnare multo minus vincere possum. Tu fortitudo mea; et rupes salutis mee. At et fides mea valde debilis. Huc illuc tentationibus impellitur. Vivit moribunda, et interitura ni tu sustentas, qui ejus es auctor. Misericordia ergo Dei, per te, spero me salutem habiturum, et peccatorum remissionem. Gratias ergo tibi, O Jesu, ago quam maximas valeo quod me miserum tanta charitate tuo sanguine redemisti. Sine hoc sanguine me perire scio et credo. Per eum redemptum spero me vitam eternam habiturum et sanctificari in hoc mundo.

Cum hominibus quidem vitam quietem agere cupio, at obtinere nequeo. Quidam opprimunt, alii lacessunt, injuria afficiunt alii, vexant alii. Ego vero, impatiens, iracundus, durus, repugno nimis, agere

inclined to anger, blunt, oppose too stiffly, and unwillingly give way. So the hater of men cherishes the seeds of discord, provokes the restless, that by them he may overcome the peaceable. Spare those, O Lord, who ignorantly yield themselves to him. Spare miserable me, and make me patiently to bear injury, and not to inflict it.

Especially I most humbly beseech thee to regard my oldest friend. I lost him, indeed, when I least looked for it. Thou, O Lord, knowest I was an unfeigned friend to him and his. But they attacked me when I expected no such thing and, wickedly punishing me with various injuries, will not be quiet. O Lord, open his heart that he may see what he has done: open mine that I may see for what fault I have deserved this. Pardon both him and me. Whatever he does amiss, who is properly called thy servant, gives a stumbling block to the weak and causes dishonour to thy church, O Jesus. Turn the man to thyself and to us for thy church's sake. Have pity, O Lord, upon that bird of prey who has oppressed me and my family while I have endeavoured to aid the oppressed. Give him repentance unto life, that he may restore to that poor family what he has extorted; and snatch me and mine from the hand of the spoiler. Spare those who hate me from envy or at the instigation of others, who persecute me for justice and truth's sake.¹

Ἐν τῇ ἐπιπορεύῃ ἡμῶν κήσασθε τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν.^b Luke, xxi, 19. So our Saviour admonished, so comforts his disciples, and guarded them against those dreadful

remitto. Sic ille hominum osor discordiæ semina fovet, irritat inquietos, ut per eos vincat pacificos. Parce iis, Domine, qui seipsos ignorantibus ipsi permittunt; parce mihi misero, et fac me patienter ferre injuriam, modo non faciam.

Præcipue obsecro te humillime ut respicias amicum meum antiquissimum. Ego quidem amisi ipsum cum minime sperabam; Tu, Domine, novisti me ipsi sui-que amicum fuisse non fictum. Illi autem me nihil tale expectantem aggressi sunt, et injuriis variis male maledantes, quiescere nolunt. O Domine, aperi cor ipsius ut videat quid fecit; aperi meum ut videam quo crimine merui. Ignosce ipsi milique. Ille servus tuus proprio dictus quicquid facit male scandalum præbit infirmis et in debent ecclesiæ tuæ redundat, O Jesu. Convertite virum ad te, et ad nos, propter ecclesiam tuam. Miserece, Domine, volueris illius rapacis, qui me et familiam meam oppressit, dum oppresso opitulare studui. Da ipsi penitentiam ad vitam et restituit pauperi illæ familie quæ extorsit; et eripe me meosque ex manu rapacis! Parce iis qui me odio habent ex invidia vel aliorum accensu stimulis, qui me persequuntur propter justitiam et veritatem.

Ἐν τῇ [etc.] Luc. xxi, 19. Sic monuit, sic consolatur Salvator noster discipulos suos; et contra mala illa horrenda quæ prædixerat præmunivit. Qui animum amisit nihil habet, qui hanc possidet

¹ The allusion is apparently to some disputed claim of tithes,—so fruitful a source of animosity and litigation as long as they were collected 'in kind' and the legal right to them qualified by various and special customs. It was admitted, in a suit in the Exchequer brought by a vicar of Westhall, that tithes in kind were due to him 'for clover seed, turnips, parsnips, carrots, flax, hops, wool, pigs, geese, turkeys, chickens, eggs, honey, wax, apricots, and ducks'; but it was insisted, and so adjudged, 15th July 1745, that moduses were payable for 'wood, calves, lambs, hemp, milk, apples, pears, plums, nuts, agistment of unprofitable cattle, clover, and other hay.' Smith v. Baas, Wood, Exchequer title causes, ii, 434.

^b In your patience possess ye your souls.

calumnies which he had foretold. He who has lost his soul has nothing: he who possesses this has lost nothing. But I, by my inability to bear injuries, have destroyed my peace of mind and exposed my soul to the greatest possible danger. And yet I have not been tempted beyond the common lot of men. Pardon, O Lord, the infirmity of thy servant and strengthen me by thy spirit, that, for the future, mindful of this promise and precept, I may not give way or be irritated under trials but, with christian patience and faith, may bear manfully what Thou, in thine unfathomable wisdom, hast permitted to befall me.

DECEMBER 25th. I received the Lord's supper in Westhall church, [Richard] Jennings, the curate, administering it.

1682 3.

FEBRUARY 21st.

Ash Wednesday.

I read Robert Sanderson's very learned sermon on Eccles. vii, 1. 'A good name is better than precious ointment.'¹ Wherein he exceedingly well describes the glory, advantage, and use of a bright reputation, and how it is wont to be acquired and to be impaired. What I particularly notice, however, is, that sharpness is repaid with disgrace;^m which, in some measure, perhaps, has been my lot. For, while I especially endeavour to promote those things which seem to me to be

nihil amisit. Ego vero impatientia injuriarum pacem anime nec perdidit, animam vero periculis quam maximis exposui nec tamen ultra communem hominum sortem tentatus fui. Ignosce, Domine, infirmitati servi tui; et me corrobora spiritu tuo; ut in posterum memor promissi et precepti hujus non succumbam, non irritarer afflictionibus; at patientia et fide Christiani videlicet feram que tu tua sapientia profundissima mihi obvenire permisisti.

DEC. XXV. Cœna dominicæ accepi in ecclesia de Westhall; administrante — Jennings curatore.

FEB. XXI. Ash Wednesday. Legi sermonem doctissimum Roberti Sanderson in Eccles. vii, 1. 'Potius est bonum nomen quam bonum unguentum'. Ubi quidem optime famæ florentis et gloriæ, utilitatem, et usum describit, quomodoque et acquiri et diuivari solet. In his vero maxime noto, asperitatem ignominia rependi; quod mihi in parte forsan evenit; cum enim maxime laboro ut que mihi justæ videntur promoveam, sæpe eveniunt quæ, quæ de causa non dicam, contra me intuentur. Ego vero maxime

¹ Delivered at Whitehall, Nov. 1631. Bishop Sanderson's Sermons, ed. Montgomery, 1841, ii, 16

^m 'It falleth out, not seldom, to be the fate or fault of very good men, biassed too much by self-love and partiality, to impute such crosses and disgraces as they sometimes meet withal, wholly to the injuries of wicked men, which, if they would search narrowly at home, they might perhaps find reason enough, sometimes, to impute, at least in part, unto themselves; when, by busy intermeddling where they need not, by their heat, violence, and intemperance of spirit, in setting on those things they would fain have done or opposing those things they would fain hinder, by their too much stiffness or peremptoriness either way, . . . they provoke opposition against themselves, their persons, and good names, from such men especially as do but wait an opportunity and would greedily apprehend any occasion to do them some displeasure or disgrace.' p. 46.

There is an account of bishop Sanderson in Wood's 'Athene Oxonienses,' ed. Bliss, iii, 623-631. It was of this divine that Charles I, to whom he was chaplain, used to say, 'I carry my ears to hear other preachers, but I carry my conscience to hear Mr. Sanderson.'

just, I have often found that some, for what reason I will not say, are striving against me. However, I pursue what I have undertaken with the utmost energy and industry. Hence anger, altercations: hence those who have harassed me with the greatest injuries, when they have at length provoked me to a most righteous anger, justify themselves against me by saying, 'He is a quarrelsome, indiscreet man, he did so and so'; craftily suppressing the cause and the provocation given by themselves.

But now, what is to be done? They act improperly, and I not well. To be angry, as well as to err, is human; the effect, doubtless, for the most part, of human weakness. For there is a time when it becomes us to be angry; but how seldom! I am not often troubled with this failing, except when men act unjustly or otherwise than becomes a Christian.

But I neither can nor ought to excuse myself on this ground; for those who hate me endeavour to ruin my reputation and credit almost exclusively by this charge.

I will therefore conduct myself more meekly and bear injuries more patiently, and, as far as I can, will transact the business entrusted to me, as well as my own, modestly and quietly; yet so that no injury shall thence befall others. For I would rather be esteemed passionate and hasty, than unfaithful, unjust, ungrateful to my friends and, in short, of no service to the poor and the oppressed.

But do thou, O God, furnish thy servant with thine own gentleness. I am flesh, and laden with the weakness of the flesh. While I follow what is good, I fall into unforeseen evils. Pity me, and pardon me and others, for the sake of that most gentle Lamb who, by his patience and obedience, took away the sins of the world. Amen.

Ὁρμίζουτε καὶ μὴ ἀμαρτάνετε· ὁ ἥλιος μὴ ἐπιδύω ἐπὶ τῷ πυρρορρισμῷ ἡμῶν.*
Ephes. iv, 26.

vi et industria que suscepī ago. Hinc iræ, jurgia. Hinc qui me injuriis lacerare magnis, cum tandem ad iram justissimam provocare seipsos contra me vindicant dicendo, 'Iracundus, inconsideratus est homo, sic et sic fecit,' calide suppressa causa et provocacione ab ipsis illata. Jam vero quid agendum est? Illi male agunt; at et ego non bene. Humanum est irasci, ac ut errare; humane imbecillitatis minimum effectus, ut plurimum. Est enim cum irasci deest; at quam raro! Ego vero non sepe hac passione agitor, nisi cum homines injuste agunt vel aliter quam deest Christianum. At lūne non excusare meipsum vel possum vel debeo; illi enim me odio habentes famam et existimationem meam pessundare laborant hac fere sola via.

Mittas ergo me geram, injuriasque patientius feram; negotiaque mihi commissa et mea modeste et quiete quantum possum transigam; sic tamen ut nihil inde injurie aliis eveniat. Mado enim iracundum et proprium haberi, quam infidelum, injustum, amicum meum ingratum, denique pauperibus et oppressis inimicum. Tu vero, O Deus, servum tuum in mansuetudine tua instrue. Caro sum ac carnis imbecillitate oppressus: dum quod bonum est sequor in mala improvise incido. Miserere mei; et ignosce mihi et aliis, propter mitissimum illum Agnum qui, patientia et obedientia sua, sustulit peccata mundi. Amen.

Ὁρμίζουτε [etc.]

* 'No virtue has been wont to appear so like wisdom as gentleness.'

† 'Be ye angry and sin not: let not the sun go down upon your wrath.'

[ORIGINAL.]

1683.

APRIL 5th.

A consideration.

I have had occasion to speak, upon severall occasions, to some of the greatest men of this nation, of all sortes; and I have met with humane nature in all of them; enough, at least, to tell me they were men and subject to the same passions and infirmities I am. I never did them any injury; but rather have ever approached them with too great respect. Yet I have had little comfort in being neare them, even then when they have commanded my attendance, or the necessity of my affaires has called me to them, or charity, justice, or the service of my country; yet I have oftener met with good usage, too, than I did expect.

But when I have sought to God almighty, though I have often provoked him, yet he hath ever looked favorably upon me and comforted me. How much better, then, is the condition of his servants than that of the servants of men, how holy, learned, or great soever they be! Thou, O Lord, in mercy to me, hast defeated my expectations amongst men, that I might put my whole trust in thee; for thou only art holy, thou only art just, mercyfull, powerfull, and good. The favour of princes is deceitfull, their kindness a mere delusion. Grant that, as I have onely found satisfaction in my approaches to thee, so I may wholly apply myself to thee in all my necessities and not put any trust or confidence in any son of man; that I may ever love, adore, and magnifie that mercy, that goodness, which hath no bounds, and that I may ever seek to approve myself to thee; for if thou art my friend, my father, my Lord and protector, I shall not need any other. Amen.

EASTER EVE.

A meditation.

There is nothing of greater truth, nor harder to be believed, than that I and every man had a hand in the death of our Saviour.

Why, I was not born: I abhor the malice and obstinacy, the clamour, rudeness, and disorder of his accusers, the forced condescension and base compliance of Pilate, who so feared the people and his cruel master as, with one breath, to pronounce him innocent and condemn him to the worst of deaths, and that not suddenly, but after a long debate and severall delays, and an admonition from his wife, and one from heaven too within him. For, hearing he said he was the son of God, that strok such a terror in him that back he went, and began a fresh inquiry whence he was. Now this, of all other things, was, naturally, least likely to have wrought upon him, considering in what state the prisoner then was. Yet the feare of the people and the feare of Caesar prevailed upon him for all that; and on he went, and at once absolved him, not by words only but by washing his hands too, from all guilt, and condemned him to all that punishment the Jews sought to bring him to.

Well; but what is all this to me? I hate all this, as heartily as may be; and had I been there I believe I should never have consented to these deeds of theirs. Now, all things considered, it is very strange the thing could take its effect; and had not

God let loose all the powers of hell at that time, it is probable it had not. Yea, if the very devil had not been infatuated, he had, doubtless, not thus driven on the ruine of his kingdom and the salvation of men. But God had, by this means, designed the salvation of mankind and the erecting of a pattern of the most sublime charity, humility, patience, submission; and all things in this great affaire were directed so by him that he turned all their malice and impiety to his own glory and the good of his church, without having the least hand in their impiety.

Now, O my soule, dost thou expect any benefit from this sacrifice? Were thy sins atoned for then? Did Christ die for thee? Was his blood shed for thee and thy transgressions? Then wert thou an agent there, and a principal one, too. For thy sins are not of the least size, neither few nor small, nor of small duration, though not all publicly known.

God, then, laid upon him the sins of all mankind; not only their sins who fled and who denyed him; nor theirs who accused him, who judged him; nor theirs only who mocked him, spat upon him, crowned him with thornes, clothed him in double scarlett, first that of his blood, and then that of the robe; who drove him to Calvary, and there nailed him to the cross hand and foot, and then went to lofts for his garments; nor theirs who still barbarously scorned and derided him; nor theirs only who called him an imposter in his grave and took double care to prove him so by setting a watch and sealing the stone;—it was not their sins alone, but the sins of all mankind, from the forbidden fruit to the last trump, that God then and there layd upon him; and, amongst them, all mine that are past, and, all, too, that are to come. O, wo is me! How can I reflect upon the one without feare, or upon the other without horror? If my sins be atoned for, then is the reckoning made and discharged; and then have I had my share in his pangs, and increased them. If it be not, wo, wo to me! But I beleeve I shall, by God's mercy, have my share in the benefit; and therefore I cannot, I will not, deny but I had it, too, in the afflicting of him.

And now, O my God, I would faine put a stop to those that are past by repentance, to those that may follow by new resolutions and more care for the future. And I would faine offer some sacrifice, too, by way of gratitude for my redemption. But when I betake myself to my closett for the one, what a poore return, what hardness of heart, what blindness of understanding! How dead and heartless is my devotion! Here I am all lump, and all leaven too. When I behinke me of the other, presently my former miscarriages fly in my face; and I have no reason to expect better from myself for the future: rather much worse; for in evil we proceed daily from worse to worse. And as for any sacrifice, poore and polluted I am: I have nothing to give; and, if I had, I have no reason to think it would be accepted from me, me who—O God, behold my confusion, and pittie me. Accept that sacrifice for me; and, by the virtue of it, impregnate my soul with a spirit of life, of sense, of grace; that I may

heartily bewaile what is past, and carefully and effectually beware for the time to come that I make no additions to his passion or my own too great impieties. And, O Lord, bless my private prayers, and discover to me what it is that has made them so ineffectuall to me. Above all things, give me not over to myself; withdraw not thou thy spirit, thy grace, thy mercy from me. Thou hast spared me till now: do not now forsake me forever; but show me mercy all the days of my life and in the day of my death and in the day of judgment. And not only to me but to all others; especially to my poore wife, whose cares and provocations are many; and to my poore children, whose mercies my sins may have interrupted or diverted. Spare all and do good to all, though I am not worthy to aske it. O Lord, I beg the liberty of one petition more. Deliver me from those fearfull, base thoughts that do often alliet, altright, and disquiet me, in publick and in private. I humble myself before thee. Spare me, or at least preserve me from consenting to them, or any other temptations. Hear, hear me, for Jesus Christ his sake. Amen, amen, amen.

APRIL 9th. Being Easter day: I received the sacrament at the hands of Mr Dawson. God inable me to live accordingly.

JUNE 3rd. Being Trinity Sunday: I received the sacrament at the handes of Mr. Jennings, curate to Mr. Dawson.

JULY 12th.* I began the discourse of the office of the justice of the peace; the heads of which were drawn about a yeare since; and it was ended the 15th day of August following, in twelve sheets of large Dutch paper, in 1to; but without any preface or conclusion.*

* 'The justice of peace his calling: a moral essay.' Lond. 1681, 8vo. An edition appeared in 1693, with the words 'and qualification' added in the title. Bodl. 8vo. N. 37. Line. The book was published anonymously; for which the author alleges the following reason among others. 'I am forced by my subject to reflect, sometimes sharply, on the follies and vices of men in authority; and it will be a much easier task, in revenge, to inquire into my faults than to amend and reform their own'. He observes further: 'I write neither for money, nor preferment, nor glory, nor any other worldly interest, but merely for the public good. And if any man is pleased with this tractate, I only beg of him one hearty prayer for me and mine, and the good success of this discourse, that it may advance the glory of God, the execution of justice and judgment, and the prosperity and welfare of the best church, the best king, and the best civil government in the whole world.' The essay proposes to treat, not of the legal, but of the 'moral', qualifications of the magistrate,—a branch of the subject which, Mr. Bohun remarks, 'is either totally neglected, or only to be found in sermons, or some hints in other discourses, which are very much too short to give a clear and satisfactory account and too much dispersed to be suddenly collected.'

The 'heads' are prefixed in the form of analysis. Among the things required 'to the making of a good justice of the peace,' are enumerated, (1) natural abilities; (2) civil abilities—competent estate,

1683-4
MARCH 11th. I finished the reading of Dr. R. Cudworth's 'True intellectual system of the universe':^p a most learned, rationally, industrious piece, full of great variety of discourses, against atheisme, etc. It was borrowed of Sir John Rous.

1684
APRIL 4th. God hath permitted my enemies to be increased, and not wrought the delivery of the afflicted neither. I fear at once to condemn the innocent or those that were never proved guilty, and to protect those that may be guilty though it cannot be proved. I fear to measure the justice of things by their events and to resist the providence of God discovered by them. I see much violence and injustice in the prosecution; and yet there may be truth and justice in the conclusion. I know God is righteous in all his ways and holy in all his workes, and that nothing can prevaile without his providence doth permit it; but I cannot distinguish betwixt his permission and his approbation here, because I am ignorant of the truth of things. But I am hated, skandered, persecuted, for endeavouring to help the widow and the fatherless, the destitute and oppressed; and if, after all, there be truth in the thing, I shall beare the blame of it. God knowes how severely I have admonished not to add sin to sin; but it is not possible to escape scandall in this case. I am in great difficulties, every way, and desirous to extricate myself if I knew how. But to run with the rabble and condemn by the event becomes me not.

A prayer. O Lord God almighty, thou knowest all things. Thou onely art just and holy, and able to distinguish betwixt realities and appearances. Look thou upon me and my integrity. Though not without fears and doubts, make me not a partaker, though ignorantly, of other mens' sins; of his, if he be guilty, by encouraging

reputation, learning; (3) religious dispositions; (4) moral qualifications—prudence, patience, meekness, sobriety, chastity, industry, courage, honesty, humility; (5) political qualifications.—an understanding of the nature of government, of the English people, of the several factions, and how to govern them; (6) public qualifications—love of justice, impartiality, aversion to bribery, to prejudice, to favour, hatred, to covetousness, to irregular heats and hopes, to laziness; (7) knowledge in our laws and customs—from reading, conversation, practice; (8) prudent execution of the laws—method in hearing causes, not denying, delaying, or perverting justice, not extending or diminishing his jurisdiction, or proceeding upon humour; (9) abhorrence of perjury, in himself, and in others.

^p This celebrated work first appeared in 1678, Lond. fol. A second and superior edition was published in 1743, Lond. 2 vols. 4to.

* The word 'Allen', in the autograph, appears to have been an after insertion, probably the name of the person to whom the passage refers.

† 'This is doubtless more expedient for thee and for the rest of my servants, to be exercised in sufferings, than to enjoy all things without distinction or restraint.' *Biblia*, v. l. iii, ch. 26. § 6.

him to go on in sin, of others', if he be innocent, by deserting him for fear of persecution. My own sins are many and great: let not those of other men be added to them. My enemies are many: do not increase them. My sorrows are many: do not add to them. Fear and anguish and distress are on every side: be merciful, be merciful, O Lord, to me, thy poore servant, who have no friend, no helper, but thee.

Look upon the number of them who do afflict and hate me, and lett not their ill usage extinguish my charity. I am not able, of myself, to love those that thus despitefully treat me and others; and yet I ought not to hate them. Lord, do thou in mercy regard my sufferings, and direct and uphold me. My eyes are upon thee, upon thee, onely. Do not forsake me. Have mercy upon my enemies and turn their hearts. Have mercy upon my friends, and make me contented with what thou sendest. Sanctifie my sufferings, and in thy due time relieve me and all that are in affliction and misery. Heare me, O Lord, for Jesus Christ his sake. Amen, amen.

APRIL 6th. I received the communion in the church of Westhall, at the hands of Richard Jennings, curate there. God grant it may be to his glory, in the amendment of my life.

Consideration. In this preparation nothing did more concern me than the number of those who have professed enmity to me or treated me with great unkindness; which is great, for whilst I labour, with much industry, to do good to many and justice to all within my circuit, to help the oppressed and relieve those that suffer wrong, those that are engaged on the other side do treat me as an enemy with more than ordinary rigor and severity. And, being conscious to myself of having done nothing but my duty and that I could not have looked up to God comfortably if I had done otherwise, I am too much incensed against them for thus doing by me; and at some times apt to invoke the justice of God against them, and at others to revenge myself of them by representing how ill they have done by me or others.

But it ought to be considered that they may possibly mean as well as I, though they act the direct contrary. And therefore I ought to bear patiently their contradictions; and, seeing I am subject to the same passions and infirmities they are, I ought to expect and fore-arm myself with patience and lenity to bear, not with violence to repel, them.

My estate in the world, for some time, hath been very uneasy, by reason of my debts, the number of my family and children, and the poverty of my tenants. And, being thus heavily oppressed and much of this brought upon me by others, and my

Μάχιστα ἐὼς ἔν-
κιν' Θεοῦ πάντα
ἐπορεύειν ἡμᾶς
ἐν τῇ ἡρᾷ καὶ ἀντὶς
ἡμᾶς νπομείνῃ.*
Epist. Polye. § 3.

* But especially we ought to endure all things for God's sake, that he may bear with us'. Wake, tr.

wife being less able to bear this want than I, I confess I have often, in my heart, murmured against the divine providence, and envied the happiness of them who had better estates or more profitable employments in the world; which must needs make their lives more easy. And though I would not purchase my relieve with doing the least knownen injury, yet I do sometimes too passionately desire to be eased of my burthen. But I ought to consider—how many deserve better than I yet fare worse in the world, having lost their estates or a great part of them, their liberties, their reputations, and do subsist with much more difficulty, and yet God sustaines them; (2) that God sees not as man sees, and that the poverty which is upon me, whether it be for my correction or tryall, will certainly, in the end, be for my good, if I bear it patiently and bravely; (3) that those exasperations of others, which do more afflict me than my own direct sense, are but like the instigations of Job, permitted for my greater tryall and humiliation; (4) that yet, at least, God hath preserved me, from all shamefull degrees of poverty, and hath ordered such seasonable supplies as have refreshed me very much, and not onely enabled me to subsist but to do some good to others too. O my God, pardon my discontents and murmurings, and make me carefull to express my gratitude for thy undeserved favours, my compassions for the more miserable, instead of fretting and complaining.

[TRANSLATION.]

APRIL 18th.

Of the destinies
of kings.

When I reflect upon the parricides, the murders, the perjuries, and the mutual usurpations of the kings who succeeded Alexander the great, as related by Justin, I deplore the blindness and wretchedness of mankind, who hasten ruin on themselves and theirs with so great exertion. For I believe their families would have remained longer if they had continued in the rank of subjects, and would have lived more happily.

- I congratulate myself and mine that, born in a humble condition, I have not experienced those blasts of envious fortune; that I have neither power nor provocations to commit those detestable crimes which surround the thrones of kings; that I did not live in those times when nothing was sacred or secure, but all things were tossed

[ORIGINAL.]

APRILIS XVIII. *De regum fatalis.* Cum mecum reputo parricidia, caedes, perjuria, et mutuas usurpationes regum qui Alexandro magno successerunt, ut a Justino traduntur, deploro humani generis cecitatem et miseriam, qui tanto noliimine sibi ruinam suisque necederant. Credo enim diutius familias eorum superfuisset si in subditorum statu remansissent, feliciusque vixissent.

Gratulus mihi meique, quod, in humili loco natus, turbines illas fortunæ invide non sum expertus; quod nec vires nec irritamenta habeo ad perpetranda illa detestabilia scelera quæ circumstant regum thronos; quod his temporibus non vixi ubi nihil sacrum aut stabile, cuncta vero perpetua turbinevolvuntur;

in a perpetual storm; that I was born among christians, where affairs are managed with the greater justice and fidelity, and in England, the best part of the world, under a king eminent for mercy and admirable for his fidelity towards his subjects and neighbours; who not only does not give up to justice the good, but not even the worst men without unfeigned reluctance; and who has not spared his own life so that he might save the lives of the most guilty.

O thou Most high, I thank thee that through thy great mercy thou hast given me these good things in my ignorance, may even while asking for the contrary. For as often as I was oppressed by poverty and solitude, I foolishly thought that they alone who lived at court and in the view of men were happy. Give peace in my days. Preserve the king and the royal family; and grant to my posterity an honourable and peaceful competency.

[ORIGINAL.]

About Whitesontide this year, my two principall servants, Robert Bardwell and the widdow Beart, marrying, and all my other servants giving warning to leave my service at midsummer after, when I was at London; my wife and I, upon my return, took up a resolution to leave the estate and our two yongest children in trust with our said servants and trie how we could live one year in London.^a We had many reasons for this. First: I had been extremely ill used, by my fellow justices, in the execution of my office; and by one Capt. Hall, three severall times, in publick; and though I demanded justice against him, yet I could get no redress; but their unkindness daily encreased; so that the countrey became extremely uneasy to me;—of which I have given a full account in the Justice book, tome the 3rd.^b

quod inter Christianos natus sum, ubi res majore justitia et fide peraguntur; quod in Anglia, optima terrarum parte, sub rege misericordia insigni fide et erga subditos et vicinos suos iuranda, qui non tantum non honorum sed nec pessimorum hominum neque justitie sine inflicta aversatione credit, quique vitæ suæ non perperit ut nocentissimorum hominum vitis consuleret.

Gratias tibi ago, O supremum Numen, quod mihi tanta misericordia tua hæc bona tribuisti, nescienti, inao contrarium exposcenti. Quoties enim ego paupertate oppressus et solitudine, solos felices in aula et oculis hominum viventes stolidè cogitavi. Da pacem in diebus meis. Conserva regem et familiam regalem; et posteris meis honestam et pacificam competentiam concede.

^a The lord of the manor was permitted to note the event in the parish register: 'I Edmund Bohun came into Westhall 1670, and this year, 1681, I am leaving it.'

^b These records of Mr. Bohun's magisterial life have probably perished. The allusion may be to the office of 'treasurer of the maimed soldiers', in which he succeeded a Mr. Lone, and which Mr. Bohun held from Easter 1676 to October 6th 1681, when, as appears by his account book, he 'gave up the treasury' and William Glover esq. was appointed his successor. In a list of 'pensions paid at mid-summer sessions 1683,' occurs 'Edw. Hall suspended and discharged.'

2. I had then a faire prospect of getting some preferment; the archbishop of Canterbury,² the Earl of Arlington, then lord chamberlain of the household,³ and Sir Leoline

² William Sancroft, D.D. who was born at Fressingfield, a village already noticed in this volume as an early residence of the Bohun family, had been a pupil at Bay school and was master of Emanuel college, Cambridge, while our autobiographer was scholar at Queen's. The leading events of the archbishop's career are well known. With his refusal to take the covenant, his earnest attachment to the church of England, his attempt to convert James II from the errors of popery, his determination not to sit in council with a papist nor to publish the illegal 'declaration of indulgence', and with the general triumph on his acquittal, our diarist could

W. Sancroft.

sympathize. At the revolution, it will be seen, they separated. Mr. Bohun gave in his allegiance to the house of Orange: the archbishop, turning a deaf ear to the voice of expediency however pressing, sacrificed the highest ecclesiastical preferment, retired to his birth place, and there died, 24th November 1693, aged seventy-seven, with the noble consciousness that, right or wrong, he had acted 'in the integrity, indeed the *great* integrity', of his heart. His remains were buried at Fressingfield, in the angle between the church porch and the southern wall of the church, a spot chosen by himself on a visit to Fressingfield in 1677. His injunction was fulfilled with singular fidelity, if not exceeded; for the lower portion of a buttress at the corner in question has been removed and his monument thrust precisely into that position. The inscriptions are given in the Rev. Erskine Neale's 'Earthly



resting places of the just,' Lond. 1851, p. 54. A locket containing the archbishop's 'haire of his head and enamelled over with great curiosity, and with the motto, *Rapido contrarius orbi*, was sent to the university of Oxford to be reposed in their common library.'



Among the few remaining relics of his connexion with Fressingfield, there was long preserved in a house, formerly the guildhall, adjoining the churchyard, a massive and capacious arm chair which, tradition says, he was wont to occupy. At an auction held in June 1851 it passed, for a few shillings, into the hands of Lord Hemiker, who is the present proprietor of Ufford hall, the house in which the eminent nonjuror was born. The learned Mr. Thomas Green of Ipswich, author of 'The diary of a lover of literature', was related to archbishop Sancroft, and it is said, also to 'honest Tom Martin' the antiquary, in the central front window of whose residence at

Palgrave the arms of the archbishop, with the date of his consecration, 27th January 1678, remain in stained glass. D'Oyley, *Life of Sancroft*; Page, *Supp. to Suff. trav.* pp. 391, 391; *Gent. mag.* 1811, pt. ii, pp. 23, 24; Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* ed. Bliss, iv, 857.

³ Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington, had served Charles I in the civil wars; and, adhering to the fortunes of his son, was made secretary of state in 1662. Dryden names him Eliab, and says,

Jenkins, formerly secretary of state," being all three my friends and having promised me their assistance to that end. 3. We had lived fourteen years at Westhall, with great difficulty and in great want, and had struggled hard with our debts and the difficulties of the times; and perhaps we might, some way or other, mend our conditions. However we should have fewer servants and cares, and perhaps as small expenses. These and some other reasons did then determine our choice, and put us upon a year's tryall.

OCTOBER 16th. Accordingly we went for London after Michaelmass. Where we met many and great difficulties at first; being forced to ly a week in an inn before we could settle our lodgings, and in three weeks more to change them; when we settled in Cross key court, in Little Britain,* where we lived till our return.

During the first month my wife had a sharp fit of sickness, which made her extremely uneasy; but, recovering that, she became very healthful for the remainder of the time.

But my daughter, and a kinswoman I had brought up, about January fell down of the small pox; but recovered, in a short time after, very well.

1684-5.

FEBRUARY 6th.

The 6th day of February following, our late sovereigne, Charles the mercifull, died in peace; and, about a fortnight after, our present sovereigne, James the second, declared himself a Romane catholick. This great change

‘Such ancient service and desert so large

Well claimed the royal household for his charge.’

It was too late to expect much from his influence. When Sir William Temple was, the second time, offered the post of secretary of state, in 1679, he found Lord Arlington still occupying that of lord chamberlain. But Sir William observed that, ‘notwithstanding the greatest skill of court and the best turns of wit in particular conversation’, his lordship was ‘already gone out of all credit and confidence with the king, the duke, and the prince of Orange’. Courtenay, *Life of Temple*, ii, 27.

*Sir Leoline Jenkins was made secretary on his return from the embassy to Nimeguen. ‘His learning and dexterity in business was great; but his fidelity surmounted all’. In the spring of 1681 he quitted his office, ‘for consideration’, to Sidney Godolphin. ‘He was a person that, together with incomparable veracity, fidelity, industry, and courage, had some personal failings’. North, *Life of lord Guilford*, pp. 229, 232. The *Life of Jenkins*, by Wynne, Lond. 1724, 2 vols. fol. is described, by Lowndes, as a ‘valuable repository of diplomatical information, knowledge, and skill.’

† Little Britain was the place for a bookish man, the Paternoster row of the seventeenth century. There, according to Roger North, was ‘a plentiful and perpetual emporium of learned authors: and the booksellers themselves were knowing and conversable men, with whom the greatest wits were pleased to converse.’ *Life of Dr. John North*, p. 241; and see *Nie. lit. anec.* iii, 405. In 1681 appeared a translation, by Mr. Bohun, unnoticed in the diary, ‘The origine of atheism in the popish and protestant churches shewn by Dorotheus Sicurus, made english, and a preface added by E. B.’ Lond. 4to.

L. Jenkins

produced great thoughts of heart; and much fear and confusion took possession of the minds of men, for fear the church of England should be ruined.

During this time, I wrote a preface to Sir Robert Filmer's 'Patriarcha', and put out a true copy of it, which had been given me by the archbishop of Canterbury."

* 'Patriarcha; or the natural power of kings: by the learned Sir Robert Filmer baronet. The second edition; corrected according to the original manuscript of the author; out of which, in several places, many large additions are made, amounting in the whole to ten pages; and many mistakes rectified. To which is added, a preface to the reader, in which this piece is vindicated from the cavils and misconstructions of the author of a book stiled *Patriarcha non monarcha*; and also a conclusion or post-script. By Edmund Bohun esq.' Lond. 1685. 8vo. In his preface the editor says: 'This piece of Sir Robert Filmer was not printed in the time of his life; but some copies of it being gained, in the year 1680 it was printed from one of those; which was an imperfect and corrupt transcript. Whereupon a person of honour, having obtained the original manuscript from Sir Robert's son and heir, by it corrected his own, and afterwards was pleased to give me the liberty of correcting this, which is here published, by his; which I accordingly did, with all the care I could possibly. So that this may now be attested for the true, perfect, and genuine work of that learned gentleman.' Mr. Bohun proceeds, at some length, to defend Filmer's work against the author of '*Patriarcha non monarcha*', who had pleaded, not unskillfully, for a monarchy 'tempered by known laws'. Filmer, the undisguised and unqualified advocate of the 'right divine of kings' and who professes to trace monarchial government from Adam in indefeasible hereditary succession, is chiefly known through his opponents. Locke, in his 'Treatise on government', answers the argument, by a process which has been considered unnecessarily prolix, substituting the theory, anticipated by Hooker in his 'Ecclesiastical polity', b. i. Works, i. 212, of 'an original contract'. Temple, in his 'Essay upon the original and nature of government', rejects the opinions both of Filmer and Hooker, and maintains that government sprang from the extension of paternal or patriarchal authority; while he, at the same time, admits that 'the ground upon which all government stands is the consent of the people, or the greatest and strongest part of them.'

In the conclusion of the volume under notice its editor proposes to supply what he considers a defect in the work of Sir Robert Filmer, who, 'overwhelmed with the confusions and disorders of the times in which he lived and died,' seems to him 'rather to have ended, than finished, this excellent piece'. Mr. Bohun strives to bring home the argument to the reader, and to show that the Mosiac history of the creation, involving, as he conceives, the Filmerian theory of government, gives most honour to God, safety to princes, security to subjects; is most agreeable to the nature of things, the history of the first ages, and the present and ancient state of mankind.

In the preface to his edition of Filmer Mr. Bohun refers to another of his own publications, not mentioned in his diary, and in which he aspired

to be the champion of loyalty against an individual scarcely less famous in the political history of his country than Locke has become in its literature: 'A defence of Sir Robert Filmer against the mistakes and representations of Algernon Sidney esq. in a paper delivered by him to the sheriffs upon the scaffold on Tower hill, on Friday, Dec. 7th 1683, before his execution there.' Lond. 1684, four sheets and a half, fol. Sidney, it is remarked, 'was much incensed against'

Al. Sidney

And, soon after the king's declaring of himself, I began a version of bishop Jewel's 'Apologie for the church of England'; that I might contribute what I could to the preservation of the church in this her great danger on that side. And, to this end, I added the bishop's life and 'an epistle concerning the council of Trent'.^s

1685. On Easter sunday I received the sacrament from one Mr. Stanly, who was a good man and had obliged me by taking care of my version of bishop Jewel; the same having been resolved on in a meeting of the clergy of London; which was laid by, mine taking the roome of it.

Filmer's 'Patriarcha', and 'writ a large discourse against it, which was found in his study when his papers were searched, upon the discovery of the late plot, and produced against him at his trial; and in his paper delivered to the sheriff at his execution he treated this piece with great passion.' The political integrity of Sidney has been gravely questioned: he is regarded by some as an illustrious, if not faultless, patriot, by others as a 'traitor of the worst class.' But with regard to Filmer's work, albeit not unworthy of notice by those who would judge the Stuarts without prejudice, it is too late to renew the discussion. To adopt the language of De Foe, Sidney's 'manuscript being seized, and the subject examined, it was thought fit, instead of answering him with the pen, to answer him with the axe . . . So they cut off his head, merely because they could not answer his book. It has since been printed, and remains unanswered to this day.' 'Jure divino', b. iv, pp. 27, 28.

^s 'The apology of the church of England; and an epistle to one Signor Scipio, a Venetian gentleman, concerning the council of Trent: written, both in latin, by the right reverend father in God, John Jewel,

lord bishop of Sarisbury. Made english by a person of quality. To which is added, the life of the said bishop, collected and written by the same hand,' Lond. 1685. 8vo. Jewel's 'Apology', originally printed, Lond. 1562, by authority of queen Elizabeth, as a public confession and vindication of the catholic and christian faith, was, for a long time, deemed

so important as to be kept chained in all churches throughout the kingdom. The work was rendered into English, in 1564, by the lady Anna wife of Sir Nicholas, lord keeper, Bacon. A modern translator has given a list of the english editions, and places only that of 1685 between the years 1611 and 1719. He quotes from the 'editor's notes to the translation of 1685', but does not mention that editor's name. Isaacson, tr. Lond. 1825, 8vo. pp. cviii, 89, 202. By Lowndes, Mr. Bohun's version is ascribed to Degory Whear. Anthony Wood, whose notice of our autobiographer under the article 'Whear' may have led to this error, states that Bohun's memoir of Jewel is 'collected from the large life of the said person by Dr. Laun. Humphrey.' Ed. Bliss, i, 560, iii, 218. Bohun's account is rather different: 'the life I have collected—from Mr. Humphrey's, who wrote bishop Jewel's life at Large in quarto; (2) the english life put before his works, which was printed about the year 1609; (3) Mr. Fuller's Church history; (4) Dr. Heylin's Ecclesia anglicana restaurata; and others who wrote any thing that related to those times and fell into my hands in that short time I had to finish it in'. The memoir thus compiled, and whose authorship is settled by the diary, was reprinted anonymously in Wordsworth's 'Ecclesiastica Biography', Lond. 1818, 2nd ed. iv, 3, and, with considerable enlargement, is prefixed to Isaacson's translation of the 'Apology'. The 'epistle to Signor Scipio' is stated, Ath. Oxon. ed. Bliss, i, 393, to have been written in 1559: Mr. Bohun, p. 151, fixes the date,—'about August 1562'. 'Apology', tr. Russell, Camb. 1839, 8vo, preface.

To Sarah

In the same time I made also a version of Mr. Wheare's 'Method of reading history',^y at the request of Mr. Charles Brome, of Paul's church yard, stationer; which was printed in 8vo, with an index and preface.

And, the fanaticks growing very troublesome for a toleration and uniting with the papists in their clamours against the church of England, I wrote also, and printed, a small 'Apologie for the church of England against the men of no conscience';^z which was published that very day this loyal parliament first met.

MAY 22nd

JUNE 11th. Soon after this, the rebellion in the west^o broke out, under the late Duke of Monmouth, who claimed the crown of England as forfeited by the king's defection from the protestant religion. And this was another source of many and great troubles,

^y Degorie Wheare, born about 1573, educated at Oxford, died in 1647. The learned Camden made him the first reader of the history lecture which he founded in that university. He published in 1623, 'De ratione et methodo legendi historiarum dissertatio'. Oxon. Boll. 8vo. O. 11. Art. Scd. 1625, 8vo. 1637, 8vo. At length Nicholas Horsemann M. A. and fellow of Christ college, Cambridge, (of whom see Wood, Ath. Oxon. iv, 616) added 'Mantissa de historicis gentium particularium', etc. and printed a fourth edition, Oxon. 1662, 8vo, the title of which is 'Relectiones hyspanice, de ratione et methodo legendi utraque historiarum civilium et ecclesiasticarum', etc. The first edition of Mr. Bohun's version is intitled 'The method and order of reading both civil and ecclesiastical histories: in which the most excellent histories are reduced into the order in which they are successively to be read; and the judgment of learned men, concerning each of them, subjoined. By Degoreus Wheare, Camden reader of history in Oxford. To which is added an appendix concerning the historians of particular nations, as well ancient as modern: By Nicholas Horsemann. Made english and enlarged, by Edmund Bohun esq.' Lond. 1685, 8vo. The work was mentioned with approbation by Locke. Of the translation there were several reprints. Lowndes mentions one in 1691. To those of 1698 and 1710, both stiled in their title pages, 'the third edition with amendments', is prefixed 'Mr. Dodwell's invitation to gentlemen to acquaint themselves with antient history'. In his preface Mr. Bohun offers an apology to those 'morose gentlemen who, having, at the price of many a sore lashment, possessed themselves of the greek and latin tongues, are very much displeased to see their precious treasures made cheap and exposed to the eyes of all that can read english'; and he gives a brief account of Wheare, and of his book, which, in the translator's judgment, deserved to be called The history of the greek and latin historians.

^z Danton mentions 'Mr. Brome, in Ludgate street, whose father printed for Sir Roger L'Estrange.' 'Life and errors', p. 222.

^a Anthony Wood says 'An apology for the church of England against the Duke of Buckingham's second's' was 'written by E. B. esq.—the same with Edmund Bohun, as it seems.' This was one of several pamphlets which arose out of the duke's 'Short discourse upon the reasonableness of men's having a religion or worship of God.' Ath. Oxon. ed. Bliss, iv, 210.

^b The writer of Bohun's 'Character' states, p. 26, that our diarist, when licenser of the press, 'refused to allow the printing of a book called A new martyrology, which gives an account of the cruelty and bloody practices of Jeffreys in the west; and told Mr. Danton, the bookseller who carried it to him, that he would not license it for its weight in gold'.

though it lasted but a short time, and ended in the taking and beheading that duke on
 JULY 15th. Tower hill, and the ruine of all his party who had appeared for him. And now I had the pleasure to be quiet and safe in London; when they who had driven me from my home were full of anxiety and trouble, and scarce knew which way to turn them.

This winter and somer all the necessaries of life were extreame dear and scarce, by reason of the drought of the preceeding and of this somer also; but, having a small family, we made a very good shift.

AUGUST 6th. In the beginning of August I returned with my wife to Westhall again, to spend some time below, and to put off my estate and sell my stock; resolving, now, to spend some time longer in London. And here I continued till the 16th of October following; in which time I leat my estate to Robert Bardwell, for three years.*

OCTOBER 5th. renewed my oath of justice of the peace, and gave my thirteenth charge at Beeches sessions.

I found much of that envie and ill will my neighbours had before borne towards me abated by my absence; and some that had been a great means of my leaving the countrey seemed to be as desirous I would return and live amongst them. But my mind was otherwise disposed and fixed.

During my beeing at London, I had many faire probabilities and made severall attempts to gain some imployment; but all failed, and my hopes proved abortive. And now, in my absence, my friends began to faile too. And first, Sir Leoline Jenkins, who had been sick from the time of the death of Charles the second, worne out with

* The 'hall farm', according to a map made in 1666, contained 173 a. 1 r. 39 p. By the agreement with Robert Bardwell, dated 28th September 1685, under Mr. Bohun's hand and seal and written by

Edward Bohun



himself, the rent is reserved upon a principle of adjustment which is finding favour in the present time: £70 a year, 'when cheese and butter' should 'be sold for £20 the load or upward, and wheat for 20s. the coomb or upward'; and £60 a year when the prices of those articles should be less. The tenant engages to deliver to his landlord 'one ferkin of rawing butter and two fat turkey cocks, at Christmas yearly'; and the landlord to allow sufficient fuel and 'five shillings for every chadder of sea coale which shall be fetched, over and above the price of the said coale, for the saving the wood upon the premises'; and also to allow 'the chimney money or hearth money' payable to the king, a tax imposed by statute 13 and 14 Car. II, cap. 10, pronounced oppressive by 1 Wm. and

Mary, st. 1. cap. 10, but afterward revived, and still existing under the name of house duty.

cares, labour, and a great neglect of his health to serve the nation, died. He was one of the greatest and best men of the age, a generous, free, disinterested, wise, and holy statesman; and perhaps died more for grief he had lost his good master than upon the account of his age or infirmities.

Next the Lord North, lord chancellor of England, died, out of fear he should lose his place. He was my good friend, too, and might have done me good, if he had lived.^d

OCTOBER 1646. Soon after Michaelmass I went back to London, leaving my wife and children behind, to follow me; as they did, when I had provided them lodgings. Which, being inconvenient, I took onely for a smal time; but we were forced to live in them till our lady; though they were dark, stinking, and inconvenient, and I was heartily ashamed of them when any of my better friends came to see me. Our former landlord had promised to rebuild and raise the house we had dwelt in the year before, and to make it fit for my now bigger family, in one month's time; but he failed, and kept us out till that time. I chose to live in this place, because we had a garden to walk in and two courts for our children to play in; and the rents were not so high neither as in other places.

My three yongest children, Francis, Nicholas, and William, immediately after wee went up, and two maide servants, fell down of the smal pox; and one of my servants died; but the rest did well.

About the same time the Earl of Arlington died also. So that now all my friends, but the archbishop of Canterbury, were dead and had left me in the same mean and low station they found me; none of them havinge done any thing for me but Sir L. Jenkins, who gave me eleven guineas.

My wife, also, was so very uneasy in her ill lodgings, that she gave me little rest; and I would as gladly have relieved her if I had had power. But I could not. So that still my troubles pursued me.

^d Francis North baron Guilford died 5th September 1685. His younger brother, the honourable Roger North, in his amusing biography of the lord keeper, observes that, with the death of his 'good master and sovereign, all his lordship's joys and hopes perished; and the rest of his life, which lasted not long after, was but a slow dying'. p. 253. The duties which devolved upon the lord keeper in parliament, at court, and in

the privy council, 'where nothing squared with his schemes', and the arrears of chancery business, added to the 'load' of the death of king Charles II, 'did that to his lordship, which people mean when they say that his heart was broke; but I guess' adds his biographer, 'that with him it was rather his head than his heart'. p. 261.

Guilford

This winter I wrote a defence of the clergy and church of England against the papists; which was rejected when it was desired to be licensed; as another discourse I had written, whilst I was in the countrey, for promoting the conversion of our negro slaves,* was before. So that both these designes failed.

I did nothing else all this winter; being so incommoded in my lodgings and disturbed by the sickness of my family and other troublesome accidents, that I had little heart to undertake any thing. But yet I made some attempts to have gained a master in chancery's place; of which I had a faire prospect; but it proved onely matter of charge and damage to me; being defeated in all I went about.

At our lady I left my wife and children in London, and returned to Westhall the 27th of this month; where I now am, and write this short account of my late occurrents.

1685.
March 24th.
30th.

When I lived in the countrey I was much subject to melancholy, and to make sad reflections on my condition; but then I spent much time in prayer and devotion. In the city, company diverts my melancholy humours and thoughts, but makes me much less careful of my devotions and prayers both publick and private. Outward comforts take off the spirituall contentments, and betray us to many temptations. 2. Our worldly cares were more numerous, and yet perhapps not greater. The one single fear that money should not come in in time, where all is to bee done with ready money, equalling all our countrey cares. 3. Living hitherto in London without any employment, I have lived without envie or ill usage from men; loved, rather than hated, by all; so that I have had none of the temptations to anger and revenge which I was subject to when I was ill used for doing my duty. 4. Spending much of my time in company and amongst ingenious men, I have been more subject to vain glory, over much freedom in discourse, and, sometimes, to adding circumstances to stories, to make them more acceptable to others; which is a breach of that exact veracity that becomes a christian, though it has not the malice or designe of a lie. 5. Observing, more nearly, the great advantages of

* More than a century had to elapse before the christian world admitted that the conversion of slaves was a safe or necessary project. Yet, in 1680, the licensing act which was passed after the restoration having expired, a book was printed by John Dunton for the Rev. Morgan Godwin, a descendant of bishop Godwin, intituled 'The negro's and Indian's advocate, suing for their admission into the church; or a persuasive to the instructing and baptizing of the negroes and Indians in our plantations.' The volume is dedicated to archbishop Sancroft, and labours, with learning and ingenuity, to prove that negroes are men, and have, naturally, an equal right with other men to the exercise and privileges of religion;—that colour and bondage do not 'unsoul men'.

wealth and power, I have been more subject to envie the prosperitie of others, and especially of ill men, and consequently to murmur against the divine providence in that I am low and poor. But then, observing the greater number to be poorer and more miserable than I am, it does, in some degree, counterballance the other temptation and make me contented in my station; and the more because I have observed in how slippery a station the great and the rich are, whilst I am as much removed from danger as from envie. 6. When I first went up, I thought myself happy if I could live in London, how meanly soever it were; for I thought a London beggar more happy than a country gentleman. But that joy is now abated, which resulted purely from imagination and phancy. A man may be miserable or happy in any place on earth, and equally so. 7. I looked upon the conveniencies of books and improvement to be great in London. But then the variety distracts a man, and company diverts us; so that I have studied less and improved myself less there than I should have done here, in the same time. 8. But, not having any skill in husbandry, buying, and selling, I lose less there than I did here. 9. The change of the crown and the death of my greatest friends have made it very much more difficult for me to gain any employment in the world, for the improvement of my estate. And although my rents are never so well paid I can but subsist; because my family is great, and will spend my small estate wheresoever I live. But if my rents are not well paid, as they have been yet, then I shall be reduced, in a short time, to great streights; and this is my great fear and disquiet. 10. I have sometimes thought with myself that I did not do well to leave my own countrey and station because I was ill used; considering others must be so much the more ill used by my absence. But then it was easy and almost necessary; and I had a fair prospect of doing something for my own family, of which I was to take care too. And God be mercifull to me if in this I have offended! 11. I have there, also, a means to put my children to school and educate them better than I could here in my mean and low circumstances. 12. I have suffered some inconveniencies, also, from company, in excess, &c.; but not often. 13. When I lived in the countrey, as I had less avocations, so I had better conveniencies for retirement and devotion than I have as yet had in London. I have lived in small houses, and not very convenient neither; so that I had not conveniencies for my private devotions; though I might have performed them much better than I have done, too. 14. As the aire and streets of London do foul the body and dirty the clothes and linen above all other, so there is the greatest corruption of the soul too, if great care be not taken; and that, not only from the contagion of ill men, ill manners, and ill examples, but also from the great number of diversions which take men off from thinking upon God and their souls and their present and future state. So that vices encrease upon men, and God and goodness are insensibly forgotten; outward things, newse, prate, etc. amusing the mind, in the meantime, and stealing away the thoughts,

before one is aware of it. 15. In every change of life there is a danger and a great hazard. I was so far sensible of this, as to my temporal concerns, that I did not imbrace the opportunity without fear and reluctance; apprehending, as I do still, that I might become poorer and more miserable in that expensive place. But then as to my soul and moralls I had no fear upon me; and yet they were rather more endangered. I had been long beaten to the temptations of a country life, and I had gained an acquaintance with them. But those I met with there were new, and prevailed more upon me for want of experience, and were less regarded and less observed before or after; and so gained strength by my neglect and inadvertence, diversion, and other thoughts. 16. Retiring now alone, I have had the opportunity to consider things. God grant me his aide to amend and rectifie what is amiss, and arme me against them for the future.

A prayer

And now, O Lord, holy and just, how shall I appear before thee? And where shall I begin my apologic? Thou hadst placed me in a low and safe station, remote from envie, and not too much exposed to injury. And I affected magistracy, and obtained it, believing I could do good to others. But alas! it proved hurtful to myself and my poor family, by betraying me to the envie and ill usages of great and of factious men. Thou hadst placed me in the safe and innocent retirements of a country life. Hardship and the flattering hopes of preferment, ease and peace drove or forced me from it. I have here also met the same disappointments. My friends are most of them dead; and have left me in the same state of poverty and obscurity I was before. My cares and sorrowes are rather changed than extinguished. And my sins onely are increased. For I have lived with less care to please and serve thee, with more liberty and less innocence. And now, O Lord, what shall I say to thee, —on whom so many methods of amendment have had such small effect? Have mercy on me. Take me into thy own care: dispose of me as it pleaseth thee. My own choises are foolish, my hopes vain: make me contented, make me thankfull in my station. Pardon my sins, which are many. Sanctifie and purifie me; and, in thy mercy receive and comfort me; and protect me the remainder of my life, for Jesus Christ his sake.

APRIL III.

I received the holy communion, in the parish church of Westhall, at the hands of Isaac Girling the present vicar there; when I had the blessed satisfaction of seeing three score of the inhabitants of that parish receive at one time; having scarce ever seen twenty, at any one time, before. This was owing, principally, to the pious care of the present bishop of Norwich, Dr. Lloyd;^f who had issued out a circular

^fDr. William Lloyd was translated to Norwich from the see of Peterborough, 11th June 1685. He was deprived as a nonjuror, retired to Hammersmith, and there died 1st January 1709. *Gloss. Norf.* iii. 688.

letter to all his diocess, that all that were above sixteen years of age should receive the Lord's supper in the beginning of this lent; and next, to Mr. Girding, who is a good man and a good preacher, and very much beloved by his people. The holy God be blessed for all his mercys; and may he grant that I and all these may serve him acceptably, with reverence and holy fear, all the days of our lives. Amen.

— *συμβολίων τε λαβόντες, ἀργύρια ἰκανὰ ἔδωκαν τοῖς στρατιώταις, λέγοντες, εἰπατε ὅτι οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς ἐκλεψαν αὐτὸν ἡμῶν κοιμωμένον. Καὶ ἐὰν ἀκουσθῇ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τοῦ ἡγμένου, ἡμεῖς πείσομεν αὐτὸν καὶ ὑμῶς ἀμειψόμενοι.*² Matt. xxviii, 12-14. — There is not a greater instance of the blindness and rebellion, the folly and madness of men, than this. They were satisfied, beyond all doubt, that he was really risen. His empty tomb was a clear conviction; and the affrighted testimony of the guards, who had so lively a representation of the terror they fled from the sepulcher with yet upon their countenances, was a demonstration to them of the truth of what they said. They durst not presume to perswade these souldiers to lie for them, till they had well fed them, neither. Good store of money must be, and was, given, before the lie would down with these mercenary wretches. It was very uncertain, too, whether the president would be contented with this lie, and not diligently search out the truth of the matter, and punish both the guards and the council. But this must be ventured. The story they put into their mouth was silly; for if it was night, and they asleep, how could they tell that he was stolen, or who stole him? Yet they are bid to say that 'his *disciples* stole him away'. There was a great stone, rold upon the mouth of the tomb, which could not be easily removed, and not possibly without so much noyse as must awake some of these drowsy sentinels. His disciples were a company of poor, peaceable men, and durst never have attempted this bold action; it being a very difficult, if not impossible thing, to open this sepulcher and carry this body away, and no discovery, no opposition be made to it. But then, could these men think that God, who had wrought so many miracles by this man in his life and at his death, could be bribed too? And would this raised person consent to their fraud, and not discover the falsehood of their shams? Could they think he would rise and not appear? For my part, I should have expected, if I had been one of them, to have heard of his appearing publicly to all the people, in the temple, before night. They were sure that now he was above all their power and malice, that they could hurt him no more; and they might reasonably expect that he would vindicate himself and demonstrate his innocence by

² — and had taken counsel, they gave large money unto the soldiers, saying, say ye, his disciples came by night and stole him away while we slept. And if this come to the governor's ears, we will perswade him and secure you.'

their conviction and ruine. They must needs think the curiosity of men and the love of his followers would detect this imposture in a short time. But they were engaged, and they must go on. His blood would fall upon them: the people would stone them for the villany they had engaged them in by procuring them to vote and clamour for his death. Their credits, their authorities, their lives and fortunes, their all, was at the stake; and they must lose all this if they went back, and might save them if they succeeded and were believed by the people. They had their wish: the people believed them, and the lie prevailed to all following ages upon the incredulous nation of the Jewes. But where shall these crafty men appear in the day of judgment, when they shall again see this very Jesus their judge, and hear from him a worse sentence than that they pronounced against him?

MAY 21th.A continuation
of my life

The munday in Whisson week I went back towards London, where I arrived the Saturday following. And there I continued, without any employment, till about March following; when I began the first moneth of the 'Universal historical bibliothèque'.^b Soon after this I was desired to draw a small historical, geographical dictionary; and, not long after that, to fill up and continue the historical passages of Heylin's 'Cosmographie'; both which I undertook.

NOVEMBER 17th.

About the middle of November I heard of the death of my aunt Bohun, of Sotherton, wife to my uncle Humfrey who brought me up. My uncle Edmund had buried his wife but a short time before.

The rest of that winter I spent, in great peace and quiet, in London; meeting with little other difficulty than that of the return of moneys.

1687.

MAY 27th.

On Easter sunday I received the sacrament in the parish church of St. Butolph, Aldersgate, where I had lived till just upon our lady of this year; when I was forced to remove into Charterhouse yard.^c

Business growing upon me, and I having now undertaken so much that I could scarce tell which way to turn me, I could scarce spare the time for my publick or private prayers. But I was forced to drudge on, and, in humour or out of humour, to perform

^b The universal historical bibliothèque; or an account of the most considerable books in all languages; wherein a short account is given of the design of almost every book, and the quality of the author, if known.' 1687, 4to. This was a translation of Le Clerc's 'Bibliothèque universelle et historique', for January, February, and March 1686-7; and was discontinued on the death of George Wells, a bookseller in St. Paul's churchyard. Wood, Ath. Oxon. ed. Bli-s, iii, 219.

^c Sir John Bramston, in his autobiography, p. 107, mentions a special advantage of Charterhouse yard as a *border* residence. Being 'as it were between London and Middlesex', he contrived to escape payment of ship money and other taxes in both!

my task. The death of my aunt Bohun, however, laid an indispensable necessity upon me of returning into my countrey, to take up her estate and to pay off the legacies given out of it by my uncle's will.¹

MAY 6th and 7th. The 6th of May I left London; the 7th I arrived at Westhall, with Humfr. my son, whom I took up at Woodbridge; where he has been at school ever since I went last to London.

This year has not passed, in this church and nation, with the same quietness and prosperity that the last did. Many great men have found themselves under a necessity of choosing the lesser or the greater evil, according to their apprehensions or interests. And I have had the happiness to be a spectator, without partaking of the common calamity, any otherwise than out of compassion to those that do or may suffer.

The examination of the members of both houses in private,² the suspension of several

¹The will of Hamfr. Bohun of Sotherton, gentleman, which is dated 20th July 1670, begins, in the now nearly obsolete mode, with an emphatic confession of christian faith and hope: 'First, into the hands of almighty God that gave it I most humbly resigne my soule, most devoutlie praying and stedfastlie hoping, through his infinite goodnesse and compassion, for the all sufficient merits and mediation of my most gracious Saviour and only redeemer Jesus Christ and by the divyne operation of the most blessed and holy Spiritt, three persons and one God, to obtayne pardon and forgiveness of all my great and grievous sinnes and to be made partaker of everlasting life and happinesse.' Subject to the life interest of Dorothy his wife and ultimately charged with legacies to his nephew Edmund Bohun, the elder, and others, the testator devises his estates in Sotherton, Henham, Bliford, and Brampton, to his 'younger nephew Edmond Bohun esq.' the diarist. To him also are devised certain premises in Westhall, but subject, among other charges, to the payment of £20 for 'bynding out or cloathing poore children to be apprentices,' and of £10 to the testator's 'kinswoman Mrs. Theophila,' wife of his 'kinsman capt. Robert Coke', in memory of the testator's 'first wife, who was godmother to the said Theophila.' He declares that he suffers 'a certayne brooke meadowe' in Westhall, containing seven acres, to descend to his 'right heire, the said Edmond Bohun the younger' and his heirs, charged with three annuities, one of 40s. to Edward Kaye clerk, parson of Sotherton, and his successors; another of 5s. to Ramph Teuche clerk, parson of Brampton, and his successors; and the third, of 46s. 8d. to John Dawson clerk, vicar of Westhall, and his successors. To his wife the testator bequeaths such of his 'english books as she shall make choice of'; he also gives to her, 'during her life, the use only and custodie' of his 'paynted booke of flowers, fruites, and other things, contayning fiftie leaves which are painted, besides the blank leaves therein'; and he bequeaths the rest of his books, and also, after his wife's decease, 'the said paynted booke', to his 'said nephew Edmond Bohun the younger'. He also gives to the parson of Sotherton and Bliford, '20s. to each towne'. Suff. archd. reg.

²It was expected that the parliament would shortly meet for the dispatch of business; and many members were in town. The king set himself to canvass them man by man . . . The members, therefore, who came to pay their duty at Whitehall, were taken aside and honoured with long private interviews . . . When he found his hearers obdurate to exhortation, he resorted to intimidation and corruption.' Macaulay, Hist. Eng. ii, 207.

acts of parliament,¹ the ecclesiastical commission,^m the general toleration,ⁿ are things of great concern, and deserve to be considered, in private, by all men whatsoever; and the events may follow. But then, they are fitter for contemplation than for writing.

O God, be merciful to thy church, which thou hast planted and hitherto preserved amongst us! Let not man have the upper hand! Amen.

Since I began to write for the press I have had so much business and so little leisure, either for my own private business or the exercise of my religion, that I have scarce said any prayers some whole days. This must be altered.

The reason why I took up this was, because I found my estate would hardly support me and my family, as my tenants were able to pay it; and therefore I was willing to take any paines for an addition, and to earn my bread and part of theirs, with the hardest labour; as I have done: not out of covetousness; for, when all is done, it is not so considerable as to move that passion or excite the hope of growing rich; but purely out of necessity, to support my family in that chargeable place and in these dismal times. And therefore I hope my good God, who has shewed me mercy in all estates, will, by his grace and his providence, so order things that I shall be able to escape the temptations on all hands; and that he will shortly bring me back to my dear country again; where I desire to spend the remainder of my days, and in which I would faine die, and be buried with my ancestors, in peace, if it may please him.

MAY 15th. Being White-sonday, I received the communion in the parish church of Westhall, from Mr. Girling.

A continuation. In this year the struggles grew very great between the popish party and those of the church of England; and, I being ingaged in it to a publick disputation with one of the priests belonging to Whitehall, I treated his reverence with so

¹The dispensing power claimed by the king: truly a thing 'of great concern'—opposed by Sancroft and his six right reverend brethren—demolished on their trial—reputed by the nation—fatal, in the result, to the Stuart dynasty. Protestant nonconformists, in gaols and hiding places, reflected that religious liberty conferred by the hand of arbitrary power was a precarious good, which might be too dearly bought: even our diarist began to consider, in private, 'of choosing the lesser or the greater evil'—whether the Filmerian doctrine could be reconciled with an adherence to protestantism and civil liberty, or must be abandoned. Compare Filmer, 'Patriarcha', ed. 1680, pp. 86, 87, 100, 101, with the argument of the bishops' counsel as given by Dr. D'Oyly, *Life of Sancroft*, i, 298-301.

^mThe design to create, in contravention of a statute of the realm, a new court of high commission, for inquiring into and punishing ecclesiastical offences, 'was regarded by lawyers as an outrageous violation of the law, and by churchmen as a direct attack upon the church.' Macaulay, *Hist. Eng.* ii, 90.

ⁿThe declaration for liberty of conscience issued in April 1687, followed by another in April 1688, both of them bearing the outward appearance of tenderness towards all dissenters, but notoriously designed for favouring the Roman catholic party.



little respect that I was, for it, turned out of the commission of the peace for the county of Suffolk;^o and continued so till the abdication of king James the second. By this means, and my living in the city of London, I was wholly unconcerned in the troubles of those times, and never examined, as others were.^p

I spent this whole year in composing my 'Geographical dictionary'. And, after that, I went upon the edition of Sleidan's 'History of the reformation.'^q

^oThe writer of Bohun's 'Character', p. 17, challenges him to name one person upon whom he, as a Suffolk magi-strate, had executed the laws against papists. It is true that referring, in one of his publications, to those who were put out of the commission of the peace for their activity in that direction, he had hazarded the ultra-loyal remark that his majesty was 'not to be instructed' by them 'whom he should employ as justices of the peace'. But there is an entry in his account book for the 'Treasure of maimed soldiers' which shows that he took part in the proceedings against the 'popish dog' Richard Tasburgh, whose 'beautiful kennel' at Flixton had attracted the notice of Charles II, and who was tried, and acquitted on a charge of being implicated in the 'plot' of 1678:

| The charge of Flixton hall search, May the 27th 1679. | | £. | s. | d. |
|---|--|----|----|-----------------|
| The expences of my man, 2 days to fetch the warrant | | 00 | 10 | 00 |
| Spent at Bungay | | 00 | 01 | 06 |
| Spent at Beccles about the certificate | | 00 | 02 | 00 |
| Item, for drawing and ingrossing the certificate | | 00 | 05 | 00 |
| Item, to Peter King | | 00 | 06 | 06 |
| Item, for carriage up the certificate | | 00 | 00 | 06 |
| Item, 2 men, 2 horses, 4 nights | | 00 | 10 | 00 ^r |

^pThe king had given instructions to have the justices of the peace, throughout the country, called upon to answer three questions; as to their willingness to vote for the abrogation of the penal laws and test, or for members who would so vote; and whether they would peaceably submit to the exercise of a dispensing power. North, *Life of Sir Dudley North*, p. 181; Braunst. Autog. 301; Macaulay, ii, 323.

^q'The general history of the reformation of the church from the errors and corruptions of the church of Rome; begun in Germany by Martin Luther, with the progress thereof in all parts of christendom, from the year 1517 to the year 1556: written in latin by John Sleidan LL.D. and faithfully englished. To which is added a continuation to the end of the council of Trent in the year 1562; by Edmund Bohun esq.' Lond. 1689. Anthony Wood ascribes the version of the 25th and 26th books, only, of Sleidan, to our diarist; but the Rev. Robert Watts, one of Wood's annotators, considered Bohun to have translated 'all the twenty six books thereof.' Ath. Oxon. ed. Bliss, iii, 219. In a dedication to queen Mary, dated 20th February 1689, the translator writes: 'This work was designed and begun when our church was in the lowest degree of danger, out of a belief that it might contribute something to her preservation in that storm which lay so heavy upon her; the duration of which could then be known to none but God. . . . The reflections I had, in private, made to myself on the many deliverances the holy God has, in these last ages, so often wrought for his distressed church, when she seemed ready to be swallowed up by popish fury and fraud, was so great a support and comfort to me, in those melancholy days, that I passionately wished I had had some means of communicating them to others. To that end was undertaken the translating this excellent history . . . And, as your majesty was ever in our minds, I wished I might have some favourable opportunity of laying it at your feet; though I could then have no

1688 In the beginning of this year, my 'Geographical dictionary,' being published, I fell to the correcting and enlarging it and Heylyn's 'Cosmography,' both at once; the same reading serving to both.

prospect of that happiness.' Mr. Bohun also prefixes a brief account of the life of Sleidan, and of the reception of his history; and expresses his own judgment that, without the aid of that author, very few men have written or ever will be able to write, any thing of those times worth reading. He adds that in the translation 'all imaginable care hath been taken to keep up that truly great simplicity which is the distinguishing character of this history.'

Sleidan died 31st October 1556; 'in that nick of time', says his continuator, 'when the fates of the two contending religions, and of all christendom, were just upon the settling . . . Had he lived till the year 1563 he should have seen the death of queen Mary, Henry II of France, and Charles V, and the settling of the Roman catholic religion by the determination of the council of Trent, contrary to the expectation of all men: which seems to be the [close of the] first period of the reformation, and [an account of it] absolutely necessary to give the reader a clear prospect and full view of the first joynt of this great revolution. I have therefore persuaded the stationer to add a supplement to this version, for that purpose. And because I am a member of the religion by law established, and not willing to offend them of the other persuasions, I resolve to advance nothing in it but from authors who lived and died in the communion of the church of Rome; showing the matter of fact with great brevity, and making few or no reflections of my own; that so the reader may be left entirely to himself, to think what he please, and [as] God shall direct him.' The 'continuation' occupies a hundred folio pages, and is chiefly translated from De Thou.

Published in March 1688, under the following title: 'A geographical dictionary; representing the present and ancient names of all the countries, provinces, remarkable cities, universities, ports, towns, mountains, seas, streights, fountains, and rivers of the whole world; their distances, longitudes, and latitudes: with a short historical account of the same and their present state, to which is added an index of the ancient and latin names: very necessary for the right understanding of all modern histories, and especially the divers accounts of the present transactions of Europe. By Edmund Bohun esq.' Lond. 8vo. A neatly engraved title is prefixed, the design of which is taken from the title to Heylyn's 'Cosmography.' Adverting to the historical portions of his book the compiler observes: 'that is a new and a late design, attempted by few, and therefore not easie to be done'. Among those who had adopted a similar plan he mentions Stephanus Ilyzantinus, Abraham Ortelius, Philip Ferrarius of Alessandria, whose work was reprinted by Dr. William Billingham in 1657 and again by Michael Antonius Baudrand; also Joannes Jacobus Hoffman, whose 'Lexicon universale historico-geographico-chronologico-poetico-philologicum' extended to four folio volumes! The 'Geographical dictionary' must have been popular, for a second edition appeared in 1691, purporting to be 'corrected and enlarged; together with several useful maps not in the former edition'; and John (or John Aug.) Bernard, a grandson of Dr. Peter Heylyn, 'continued, corrected, and enlarged' the same work, 'with great additions throughout', and republished it in folio, Lond. 1693. He also prefixed 'A reflection upon Le grand dictionnaire historique, etc. or the great historical dictionary of Lewis Morery D. D. printed at Utrecht, 1692, and an account of this edition' of Bohun's work. Ath. Oxon. ed. Bliss, iv, 610. Neither the second nor the third edition was revised by the original compiler.

Heylyn's 'Cosmography' was an enlargement of his 'Microcosmus, a description of the great world.' Bohun's Heylyn was published after the editor's death: 'Cosmography, in four books, containing the

MAY 26th. May the 26th, I went into Suffolk; and returned June the 18th.

JUNE 1st In which time the pretended prince of Wales was borne. At my return I was advised not to speak any thing of the prince's birth; for that I should be whipped at a cart's tail¹ if I did. 'Why,' said I, 'have they managed their business so as to have his birth questioned?' 'Yes', said my monitor; who was, after that, a great Jacobite. I must confess, this startled me; but the more, when he came to be praised for in the church," when I saw the women look sideways of their fans and laugh one upon another. And some ministers asked me if they might legally pray for him whom they believed to be an impostor; to which I said, Ay, they were no judges.

During the time I was below,² I spoke often and so seriously of the coming of the prince of Orange, that I was in some danger for it. But all men seemed then to desire nothing more. As for me, I knew nothing of it, but by conjecture from the present state of affairs; which seemed to need it.

About Michaelmass, we first heard of his designe; and all men then rejoiced at it as a deliverance sent by God. In November the newscame he was landed in the west; and I was neither overjoyed nor sad; because I feared the event both ways. During this time I went, mostly, to church before the time, that I might have leisure to poure out my heart to God in supplications, that wee might be delivered in such a manner as should be no reproach to us nor dishonour to him.

DECEMBER 11th. The 11th of December king James fled from Whitehall, and was heard no more of till the next night. The tumults that arose that night were very terrible."

chorography and history of the whole world, and all the principal kingdoms, provinces, seas, and the isles thereof. By Peter Heylyn D. D. Improv'd with an historical continuation to the present times, By Edmund Bohun esq. With a large and more accurate index than was in any of the former editions, of all the kingdoms, provinces, countries, inhabitants, peoples, cities, mountains, rivers, seas, islands, forts, bays, capes, forests, etc. of any remarque in the whole world: revised and cleared from a multitude of mistakes, which had crept into former impressions; and five new engrav'd maps, according to the best and most exact projection.' Lond. 1703, fol. The engraved title of earlier editions was altered and reinserted in this, which is described by Lowndes as the seventh. The same writer observes that 'had Heylyn given his authorities, this work would probably have retained a much better character.'

¹ Macaulay remarks that 'merciless flogging became', in those days, 'an ordinary punishment for political misdemeanours of no very aggravated kind.' He gives a frightful account of the torture inflicted upon Titus Oates. Hist. Eng. i, 422, 481-5.

² On the 29th of June an order of council was issued for inserting the name of the prince of Wales in the Common prayer book.

³ 'Below': down in the country. Macaulay mentions 'early in August' as the time when 'hints that some great event was approaching were whispered up and down London.' Hist. Eng. ii, 414.

⁴ See 'The history of the desertion', pp. 100, 101; Macaulay, Hist. Eng. ii, 553.

The sunday following he came back; and I saw him in Fleet street. There was much gaping but no rejoeycing.^a The tue-day following, the prince of Orange entered London, and was received with such transports of joy as I never saw;^b the people putting *oranges* on the ends of their sticks, to shew they were for him.^c For my part, I was yet not resolved any way; but stood gazing what would be the event. But a clergyman that stood by me, frowning, said, 'I don't like this.' Another said, 'How was the king received?' 'Coldly.' 'Why then there is no pity for him'; said the other. This gave me occasion to feare we might divide.

That which most troubled me was the praying for king James, as king, when he was gone, and we desired him no more. This looked so hypocriticall that I hated it, and resolved not to have any share in those prayers.

In January a clergyman put out an half sheet, pretending we were bound in conscience to recall king James; to which I put out an answer, which was betrayed by W. Kettleby, a stationer,^a to the party; and brought them about my ears.

About this time Dr. G. Hicks, the dean of Worcester^b and my most beloved friend,

^a A similar account of James's reception is given in 'The history of the desertion'; p. 103: 'The next day, being sunday, he returned, about five in the evening, to Whitehall; . . . a set of boys following him through the city, and making some huzzas, while the rest of the people silently looked on.' Lord Clarendon, 'was told that very great joy was expressed through all the streets', as the king passed. *Clar. Corr.* ii, 230. But Barillon remarked that even James put no trust in those acclamations, such as they were. The impression was irresistible: 'le peuple, dans le fond, est pour le prince d'Orange.' Macaulay, *Hist. Eng.* ii, 572.

^b 'History of the desertion', p. 107.

^c On the night of the 11th of December, 'the procession bristled thick with swords and staves; and on the point of every sword and of every staff was an orange.' Macaulay, *Hist. Eng.* ii, 551. Oranges, sometimes called portingakes, appear to have been tolerably plentiful in this country, early in the reign of queen Elizabeth. 'The first day of May' 1559, some of her grace's lieges were 'gabyng a Mayge, and agaynst the que'n's plasse at Westmyenster, and ther they shott and throw eges and *oraghs* on agaynst a nodur . . . and the que'n's grace, and her lordes and lades loking out of windows.' *Diary of Henry Machyn*, (Cam. soc.) pp. 196, 163.

^a 'Mr. Kettleby: his sign is the bishop's head; and indeed he is pretty warmly disposed that way. He has been an eminent episcopal bookseller these many years.' Dunton, 'Life and errors', pp. 209, 210.

^b Dr. George Hicks, not less eminent as a linguist than as a divine, is characterized by Roger North as 'a truly venerable, learned, and pious christian minister, of a primitive spirit, patience, and resolution.' He was born in 1642, made chaplain to the king in 1681, and dean of Worcester in 1683. Refusing to take the oaths, he was suspended in August 1689, and deprived in February following.

James

Geo Hicks

came up to London; and, at the request of his relations, I laboured hard to satisfy him; but could not; though he said he was most willing to be satisfied. By his order, I wrote a short state of the affaire, and stiled it 'An apology for the church of England in relation to the revolution'; which I gave him to read. He said it did not satisfy him; so I took it again, and gave him a copy of it. Going, about this time, to Lambeth, sitting the convention, I gave a copy of it to archbishop Sancroft, my great friend and good master. He received it with great joy and pleasure; mentioning my other pieces with high commendations to the company; but presently fell to discourse of the prince of Orange and the convention in such manner that I wished I had had my paper again; for I saw I had lost him. He said, 'Next time you come, you shall have my judgment of it.' But I went not for it: I saw what would follow; and from thenceforth he never gave me one kind word or look. That which cheated me was his signing the Declaration of the 11th December at Guildhall; and, as he was not in the convention, so it was pretended he was not well, by way of cover; as it was most usuall with him to be about that time of the year. Thus I lost my two best and greatest friends; and, in a short time, all the rest followed them; so that, by the end of February, I had not one friend left; and many men that I conversed with, being of the contrary party unknown to me, betrayed and bantered me; I suspecting nothing from them who had ever before loved me.

Foreseeing that Sir Roger L'Estrange^d would lose the licenser's place, I made some attempts for it. But all my friends were gone; and Whitehall was then inhabited by those that I had no interest in. So Mr. Frazier,^e a Scot by nation and inclination, got

^c While transactions so momentous were pending in the metropolis, our autobiographer did not fail to notice the temper of the country, and especially of his native district. In his 'History of the desertion' he mentions that, on the 1st of December, a meeting took place at Norwich of the gentry of Norfolk, when 'they declared for a free parliament, and the protection of the protestant religion'; which declaration was adopted at Yarmouth and Lynn. 'The Suffolk men,' he adds, 'approved of it, but wanted a lord lieutenant to assemble and head them, in order to the showing their concurrence with safety.' p. 87.

^d This remarkable man was a younger son of Sir Hamon L'Estrange knt. of Hunstanton hall, Norfolk. After many changes of fortune, he was knighted, and served in the parliament called by James II, in 1685, for Winchester. Dutton characterizes him with some severity. 'There is a respect due to the unfortunate, especially to those who have been great and are still men of sense and ingenuity. . . . He only has had the rare happiness of lettering some of the best authors in a translation; and his Seneca and Offices will live as long as the world. . . . But what is this to honesty? There is the jewel.' 'Life and errors', p. 265. See also Macaulay, Hist. Eng. i, 390. Sir Roger died 11th December 1704, in his eighty eighth year.

^e James Fraser. Anthony Wood styles him the 'presbyterian licenser'. Ath. Oxon. ed. Bliss, i, 551. Dutton says, 'he was called Catalogue Fraser from his skill in books and constant frequenting of

So: L'Estranges.

it. And we had all the old traiterous books of 1640 reprinted to justify our revolution; and the doctrine of passive obedience became the most scandalous notion in the world; and men spoke and writ, with authority, against the divine right of princes, and against the hereditary succession of the crown; which scandalized many men to that degree, they resolved never to be reconciled to that government that encouraged such things. The old parliamentary rebels, and those that had been hottest for the exclusion and the Monmouth rebellion, were in greatest esteem and authority, and employed in court, camp, countrey; and all the rest represented as *Jacobites*; for now that word was invented.¹

For my part, I was as little pleased with these things as they; but I saw it was in part necessary: (1) because these people had the greatest hand in the revolution, as by their principles they best might; (2) the war that ensued in Ireland and Scotland made it necessary to unite all the subjects in the defence of the kingdom; and (3) many who had joyned with the king, at first coming, not finding their account in it, became false to his interest; the whigs, in the mean time, seeming more hearty.

The Jacobites began thereupon, first, to attack the government with small but virulent prints, one of which called 'The desertion discussed', writ by one Coleman, a minister, occasioned by my writing 'The history of the desertion'; which more angered my Jacobite friends; but was praised only by the other side.

auctions. He was our chief licenser for several years', the same writer observes, 'and it was pity he had not continued longer in the same post; for his treatment was kind and impartial. His compass of learning was very large, his judgment correct and moderate, his imagination lively; and he was diligent and impartial in all the parts of his duty. But, notwithstanding these qualifications, the highflyers were continually hunching at him; and at last he surrendered his deputation. There is little of happiness in high posts; they are attended with fatigue and trouble. Advancement exposes a man as the mark of envy, and to the malice of others. Every common mortal must be throwing in his censure and meddling with the characters of those above him; and, when neither the man nor his management is well known, he must sit to every ill-natured club, and have his picture daubed with suspicion and prejudice. Mr. Fraser had his full of this hard measure, though no man was better skilled in the mystery of winning upon the hearts of booksellers, nor were the company of stationers ever blessed with an honest licenser. He has now a very honourable place in Chelsea college; where he has a noble library, and lives in great reputation.' 'Life and errors,' p. 266.

John Wesley, the founder of methodism, remonstrated warmly against the indiscriminate use of the terms Jacobite and tory. The latter he defined, 'one that believes God, not the people, to be the origin of all civil power.' Nic. lit. anc., v, 211. Mr. Bohan was a tory: he was no Jacobite.

* 'The history of the desertion, or an account of all the publick affairs in England from the beginning of September 1688 to the twelfth of February following; with an answer to a piece called The desertion discussed, in a letter to a country gentleman. By a person of quality.' Lond. 1689, 4to. 2nd edition, corrected and enlarged, s. y. 'Licensed, April 10, 1689, James Fraser.' Bodl. C. 11. 7. Enc. Anthony Wood says 'the said pamphlet, called The desertion discussed, was written by Jer.

I was againe sworne justice of the peace for the county of Suffolk,"
1689.
JUNE 6th. with one Pacey, of Leistoff, a dissenter.' I lived then in London, and
 neither desired nor regarded it; but took it up purely to shew I was hearty to their
 majesties' government.

In the meantime the Jacobites fell to write historys of the doctrine of passive
 obedience; the designe of which was to shew all that had taken the oaths to their
 majesties were apostates from that doctrine, and rebels, and perjured men. This again
 angered me; and I wrote a small piece stiled 'The doctrine of passive obedience no
 way concerned in the present controversie between the Jacobites and Williamites.'

Collier of Cambridge.' Ath. Oxon. ed. Bliss, iii, 218. Bohun's account of 'the desertion' is inserted
 in 'State tracts' vol. i; and is often quoted, as an authority by historians. Whether the king had
 abdicated, or deserted the throne, was a fruitful topic of controversy at the time. The former term
 was adopted by those who considered James as having absolutely abandoned and lost all title to the
 crown, and to have left the throne positively vacant; the latter expression was preferred by such as
 reserved a kind of conditional allegiance to the absent king, in case he should be in a position to resume
 his original rights. In the remarkable conference of the lords and commons, on the 4th February 1688-9,
 the upper house contended, with considerable force of reasoning, for the adoption of the term 'deserted':
 the commons, as strenuously, argued in favour of the other phrase. Bearing in mind how all niceties of
 casuistry yielded in the end to paramount considerations, it is amusing to notice the anxiety displayed by
 their lordships lest the hereditary crown of England should be hastily declared elective; and the
 earnestness with which, on the other hand, the commons pressed the inconvenient inquiry, 'If the throne
 be not vacant, who is it full of?' The peers yielded; the king was pronounced to have 'abdicated',
 though fear had driven him away: the throne was declared 'vacant', though it was undeniable that 'the
 right of the king could not destroy the right of his heirs.' 'When such difficulties are upon the nation,'
 said a member of the house of commons, 'that we must extricate ourselves out of the linal successor,
 your lordships, I hope, will give us leave to remember *Salus populi est suprema lex.*' 'Parliamentary
 Debates,' ii, 182, 240.

^bThe Oxford historian, after noticing Mr. Bohun's exclusion from the magistracy under James II,
 adds, 'in the first year of the reign of king William and queen Mary he was restored to that office,
 upon the recommendations of the members of parliament then sitting, without his seeking, and he served
 their majesties in the said employment.' Ath. Oxon. ed. Bliss, iii, 217.

^cSamuel Pacey esq. jointly with Sir Robert Rich bart. of Rose hall, Beccles, and Thomas Neale esq. of
 Bramfield, was one of the first trustees of the dissenting chapel erected at Lowestoft in 1695. It was
 probably his father, the Samuel Pacey who died 17th September 1680, aged 56, who figured at Bury St.
 Edmunds, in 1664, in a prosecution against two unhappy women for witchcraft. See Gilliingwater,
 'History of Lowestoft', pp. 221, 294, 356, 369; Sackling, Suff. ant. ii, 68; Turner, 'Sepulchral
 reminiscences,' p. 62; 'A tryal of witches at Bury St. Edmunds,' printed 1682, reprinted, Lond. 1838.

^d'The doctrine of non-resistance or passive obedience no way concerned in the controversie now
 depending between the Williamites and the Jacobites. By a lay gentleman of the communion of the
 church of England by law establish'd.' Lond. 1689, 4to. 'Licensed, August 27, 1689, J. Fraser.' Mr
 Bohun endeavours to prove that those who believed the doctrines mentioned in the title 'were not thereby

That day it was published I was challenged with it; and then the Jacobites grew implacable, and fell to baite and tease me till, in the end, I grew angry too.

There is a passage in it^k relating to bishop Ken,^l which I had from Sir Robert Kemp of Suffolk.^m This they said was a lye. I told my author; and they procured, afterwards, a certificate that it was false; but it was not shewen me till neare a yeare after this. All these papers are in my collections, bound up in folio and quarto.ⁿ

bound to assert the misgovernment of James the second', and that, seeing he had 'deserted his throne and withdrawn his person and seals,' they were not, by those views, 'obliged to endeavour the restoring of him.' p. 2. He observes that king James 'had notoriously subverted all our constitutions and laws, both in church and state, and would suffer no redress' (p. 2.); that 'his design was certainly to extirpate the protestant religion, to enslave the english nation' (p. 5.); and he maintains that there is a distinction between a strict adherence to the 'doctrine of non-resistance and that of actually aiding a prince to destroy and enslave his people'. p. 3. He argues that William of Orange had 'the right of a conqueror, and, by marriage, of a lawful successor too,' though he preferred to claim by the latter title. p. 10. 'For my part,' the writer observes, in a tone certainly unlike that of Filmer, 'I was none of them that did or durst have resisted or rebelled against king James; but when he chose rather to leave his kingdom than to do his subjects right, it was just, with God and man, to confirm the election he had made; and, seeing he would not continue in the station God had placed him in, that of a regular and limited monarchy, but aspired to an absolute and unlimited arbitrary empire, and persecuted those who had set him up and preserved him in his throne—it was just that God should say unto him, as he did to Saul, Because thou hast rejected the word of the Lord, he hath rejected thee from being king. Seeing you provoked and deserted your people and have fled into a strange country, when you might, by observing your oath and your laws, have lived happily in your own, you shall reap the fruit of your own folly, and I will give it to a neighbour of thine that is better than you.' p. 13.

^k I have been told, from good hands, that one of our bishops, [bishop Ken, marg.] said, though he could not satisfy his own scruples, yet he thought the english nation fools if ever they suffered king James to return.' 'The doctrine of non-resistance,' etc. p. 21. 'A passage which', Anthony Wood says, 'Mr. Bohun is satisfied is not true; and therefore he desires that, and the whole paragraph in which it is, may be cancelled.' Ath. Oxon. ed. Bliss, iii, 218. Lady Rachel Russell, however, in a letter to Dr. Fitzwilliam, 17th May 1696, confidently asserts that 'the bi-bop of Bath and Wells excited others to comply, when he could not bring himself to do so, but rejoiced that others could.'

^l Dr. Ken attended Charles II on his death bed and the duke of Monmouth on the scaffold. He went to the tower in defence of protestantism and freedom, but was eventually deprived for refusing the oaths to William and Mary.

^m Sir Robert Kemp, bart. of Gissing, Norfolk, removed from thence to Ubbeston hall, Suffolk, on his second marriage, when he wedded Mary sole daughter and heiress of John Sene esq. of the latter place. By this lady he had issue; of whom Robert, the eldest son, succeeded to the title in 1710, and Mary was married to Sir Charles Blois bart. of Cockfield hall. The Ubbeston mansion has been pulled down and that property now forms part of the domain of Lord Huntingfield. Page, Supp. Kirby, 279.

ⁿ The 'historical collections' of our diarist, 1675-1692, in eight volumes folio, were purchased by James Crossley esq. at Mr. Bright's sale at the price of £13. They consist of a curious and interesting assemblage of newspapers, ballads, tracts, broadsides, original documents, and letters to Mr. Bohun

In October, this year, I gave a charge at Breeches sessions, to shew my reasons for joining with the present government; and, by letters and all ways else, I laboured to gaine over my friends; and had sometimes good success.

The Jacobite and Williamite equally fell upon my last book; and I was attacked with great spite, and slandered by both. But I was resolved to write no more; the government suffering books to be printed, with license, for and against the doctrine, and that the subjects owed nothing but a peaceable demeanour, though they had sworned allegiance. So that men wrote and spake of the king with as little respect or ceremony as of the constable of the parish.

Yet a kinsman of mine, falling into their clutches, was ruined, to my great damage, by Sir Patience Ward^a; he being of the custome house, and prosecuted for little else but to get the disposall of his place.

Being thus severely treated, I resolved to fall close to Heylin and my 'Geographical Dictionary,'^b to employ my time.

But, in the latter end of the summer, I put my eldest son to Cambridge, and bound my third son out to a leather-seller. This was a great charge to me; and the war, in Ireland and Scotland and abroad, was hot, and charges great. So that, though my estate was encreased, first, by the death of aunt Bohun, in 1686, and of my mother, 1687, yet rents were so ill paid that, by the year 1689, I found myself necessitated to encrease my debt to live.

from dean Hickee, Roger Coke, Dr. Charlet, and others, relating to the politics and news of the period over which they extend.

^a Sir Patience Ward's father was of Pontefract, in Yorkshire. He was himself a member of the Merchant taylors' company; and filled the civic chair of London in the year 1680-1. Herbert, 'History of the livery companies', ii, 427, 463. Having given evidence against the court party, in the case of sheriff Pilkington, he was condemned to the pillory for perjury.

^b Mr. Bohun's design of publishing an improved edition of his 'Geographical dictionary' was defeated by the bookseller, as mentioned at a subsequent page of the diary. The materials he had prepared were afterwards inserted in a larger work, intituled 'The great historical, geographical, and poetical dictionary,' etc. 'collected from the best historians' etc. 'but more especially out of Lewis Morsy D. D. his sixth edition corrected and enlarged by Monsieur Le Clerk; now done into english . . . by several learned men. Wherein are inserted the last five years' historical and geographical collections of Edmund Bohun esq. designed at first for his own Geographical dictionary, and never extant till in this work'. Lond. 1691, 2 vols. fol. The publishers of the book describe it as 'the first of the sort that ever was extant in english', and mention, as an apology for some delay in publishing it, that 'the many years large and curious collections of that ingenious gentleman, Edmund Bohun esq.' had been 'all carefully inserted in their proper places', whereby the work had been 'very considerably augmented.'

Paper became so scarce, also, that all printing stopped, almost; and the stationers did not care to undertake anything; and there was no help that way.⁴

At 12th, or epiphany, I went to dine with the archbishop Sancroft, who was still at Lambeth.⁵ When I asked him blessing he answered with an displeasing look and tone; so I rose and stood by him a little abashed; though I expected it, and was armed against it. Before I sat down, one of the servants whispered Mr. Alexander of the custom house, three times, in the ear, that I was not welcome; and that he was come with one that was not welcome. But this was unknown to me. Nobody carved to me, or drank to me, but my friend that came with me. This I observed; but I expected it, so it did not disturb me.

In the middle of this summer I had given an offence by another thing. Going to chappell, after the dinner, I observed they prayed for a king and queen without a name,⁶ so I would not answer 'Amen' to it. Dr. Needham⁷ read the prayers that

⁴About this time, however, or not long after, he appears to have translated '*De statu Germanici imperii liber unus*', published, under a borrowed name, by Samuel Puffendorf, the German civilian and historian, in 12mo. 1667. The english version is intitled, '*The present state of Germany*'; or an account of the extent, rise, form, wealth, etc. of that empire,' etc. Lond. 1690, 8vo.

⁵Under the act of 1 Wm. and Mary, cap. 8. requiring the oath of allegiance, the archbishop was suspended from his office on the 1st August 1689, and deprived 1st February 1689-90. But he was permitted to remain at Lambeth till the following August. ⁶After his suspension and for some time subsequent to his deprivation, he maintained, at Lambeth palace, the same attendance and splendour of establishment which he had formerly done, and during the whole of this period he constantly received visits from the nobility and others with whom he had before lived in habits of intercourse.' Pepys has a glowing picture of the 'exceeding great cheer' at the 'ordinary table' of the archbishop. Diary, 14th May 1669.

⁷In February 1688-9, just before William and Mary were proclaimed, the bishop of Norwich, dining at Lambeth, mentioned that he was appointed to preach at court on the following sunday; and asked the bishop of London how it would be expected he should pray, observing that he was willing to pray 'for the king and queen and all the royal family' without naming any; but he would not pray for 'king William and queen Mary.' Bishop Compton hesitated. Tillotson, on a similar occasion, answered, 'I think it is plain that no man can join in prayers in which there is any petition which he is verily persuaded is sinful: I cannot endure a trick anywhere, much less in religion.' Mr. Wharton, another of Sancroft's chaplains, introduced the names of William and Mary into the service; but the archbishop commanded him to desist from this practice, contending that they could not properly be so designated while James was living. Wharton afterwards took the oath of allegiance; and became chaplain to the queen; yet retained the friendship of the deprived archbishop. Clar. Corr. ii, 262; Birch, '*Life of Tillotson*', p. 282; D'Oyly, '*Life of Sancroft*', i, 435, 458, ii, 137.

⁸Dr. William Needham resided with Sancroft, as one of his chaplains, from 1685 till his removal from Lambeth in 1691. In 1689 he was appointed by the archbishop to the chancellorship of St. David's. He was also rector of Arlesford in Hampshire.

W. Cant.

day; and coming through the hall with me to take water, I asked him what he meant by it. He said nothing. 'Why sir', said I, 'the wise man saith, If one curse, and another pray, whose voice shall God heare?'^a You pray for a king and queen without a name; and you mean king James and his queen; and I mean king William and his queen: if God heare you it will be a curse to me; and if he heare me you will not think it a blessing; so this is praying and cursing in the same breath and forme of words.' He blushed strangely at this, and said, 'The primitive church never named the emperor in their prayer.' 'But', said I, 'the church of England ever named the king.' This reprimand was, without doubt, told the archbishop, and was one of the ingredients in his displeasure; and, besure, was a part of Needham's revenge; who is none of the meekest men on earth.

After dinner they all went away, and left me to shift; and I had certainly taken boat and come away, but for Mr. Alexander, for whom I was bound to stay. So went to Dr. Needham; he being my particular friend and acquaintance, and one who pretended so at least. Coming there, I sat me down amongst the rest. A gentleman at the upper end of the table, frowning on me, asked me how I had the impudence to come there, having done what I had done. 'Why sir', said I, angrily, to him, 'who are you, and what is your name, that you durst affront me here in this manner, who have been as welcome here as you?' 'My name', said he, 'is Hatton.' 'And mine', said I, 'is Bohun: who gave you authority to examine me, or to affront me here?' This put him to a stand; and he made no reply. 'What have I done, Hatton', said I, 'that looks like impudence to come here?' 'Why', said he, 'you have written a book in which is a lye of bishop Ken; and you say that you hope the nonjurors, if they persist, will find no pitty.' 'As to the first of these, I had it from Sir R. Kemp: as to the second, it is not so as you say.' 'Why', said he, 'do not you answer, then, what is writ against that book?' Said I, 'I never saw any thing of that kind. What, should I write against Mrs.^a Hicks and Wat Kettleby? Let me see the books; and I will give them such an answer as they deserve.' So I explained what I meant by 'not much pitty'; which were my words. 'You should do well', said a nonjuror parson, 'to write and print a paper to recommend them to the kindness of the government.' Said I, 'I have written severall to that purpose; and they deserve nothing more of that nature, till they learn more moderation and good manners.' 'I' said the parson, 'will certainly shun your door, when I go a begging.' 'Well', said I, 'let me see the books writ against me; and I will do what my discretion shall direct me.'

After this, I called Dr. Needham into his closett and asked him who Hatton was.

^a 'When one prayeth, and another curseth, whose voice will the Lord hear?' Ecclesiasticus, xxiv, 25

^b See above, p. 86.

^c So in the autograph.

He said, 'My lord Hatton's brother.'^{*} Said I, 'Why did you suffer him so to abuse me, without taking my part? He said gentlemen would take their liberty. 'This carriage', said I, 'is not like a gentleman'. The next newse I heard, Hatton was in the tower for writing against the government.'

As I returned home I acquainted Mr. Alexander with the usage I had met with; and he told me the three messages had been sent him before dinner. Which increased my anger to that degree that, the next morning, I wrote a letter to Dr. Needham, that I perceived Mr. Hatton was set on by the family, and, I should be very much tempted to think, by him, if he did not give me good satisfaction to the contrary: that I came out of pure respect to my lord, who had been ever my good master, though he was now become offended with me; I knew how, but could not help it. Dr. Needham sent me a fawning letter that he hoped this should cause no breach; that he would not fall out with a friend for one ill word or act; but owned he gave Hatton leave to fall upon me; but he did not set him on, and was sorry he had been so rude. With this I was satisfied. But, a few days after, I received a second letter from him with one of the printed Jacobite papers, wherein he chargeth the passage concerning bishop Ken to be a lye, in express termes, and saith he had commission so to do. Thereupon I broke, for good and all, with this party; despising their impotent rage, as not worth my notice. Soon after, I met with bishop Ken, in W. Kettlebuy's shop, and fell down on my knees and asked him blessing. Afterwards, I heard he enquired who I was; and, being told, he said 'I forgive the little scribbler'; or that purpose. I met, soon after, also, with Dr. Hicks; and spoke friendly and respectfully to him; but he received me and my address with that coldness that I took my leave of him and left him; and I

^{*} Christopher second lord Hatton of Kirby, a collateral descendant of Sir Christopher Hatton, lord chancellor in the time of queen Elizabeth, was, in 1682, created viscount Hatton of Cretton. He died in 1706, leaving a son William, second viscount, on whose decease, in 1762, that title became extinct. Lord Hatton is mentioned by the earl of Clarendon as one of those peers who 'had always voted in favour of the king,' but who 'under one pretext or other', were not in the house at the celebrated conference touching the 'abdication' of the monarch and the 'vacuency' of the throne. Barke, *Est. bar.*; *Char. Corr.* ii, 261.

^y The earl of Clarendon was present on the occasion mentioned in the text. 1689-90 'Jan. 6. Monday: I dined at Lambeth; where were the bishops of Ely and Kilmore, Lord Forbes, the dean of Worcester, and Mr. Hatton.' And the earl, continuing his diary in the tower, writes, 'June 26 [1690] Thursday . . . late in the evening, captain Hatton was brought in, prisoner.' And, 'August 13: Lord Lucas . . . told me that the lord chief justice was to bail all the prisoners in the tower except Lord Castlemain, Lord Rosse, and Mr. Hatton.' *Char. Corr.* ii, 295, 300, 328. Roger North mentions 'the incomparable captain Charles Hatton' as a younger son of lord Hatton; and that he married the daughter of Sir William Seroges; but the editor of the lives of lord Guilford etc. was unable to explain upon what account the epithet was bestowed. 'Life of Baron Guilford,' *pref.* iv, and p. 152; 'Life of Dr. John North,' p. 251.



have never seen him since. He lost the deanery of Worster by his stubbornness, and lives now, about town, concealed, and dares not shew his head. Being thus, from all sides, attacked, I wrote to Sir Robert Kemp for an account of this story. And he, too, sent me a long and very rude letter; of which I could make nothing, but that he owned he told me the thing, as he had thousands besides. But, about May after, a gentleman who was present brought me a certificate, signed by some other gentlemen, that it was a story invented by Sir R. Kemp's son, and spread by the father; and yet he told me not to discover this, because he would not disoblige that family. So let it fall, and took no notice of it.

By this time the taxes were grown so heavy, the tenants paid their rents so ill, and there went so much money to my children, that I became very melancholy, and feared I should be ruined by it. One Robert Osborne, my tenant at Dale hall,

The manor of Dale hall, near Ipswich, was in the possession of Baldwin de la Dale, a foreign burgess of that town, and his lineal descendants from 55 Hen. III, 1271, to 13 Hen. VIII, 1521, when it passed to Elizabeth widow of William Dale esq. of Dale hall and of Tydmans in Berkshire. His daughter and co-heiress, Jane Dale, who died in 1512, carried the estate, by marriage, to William Wollascot of Tydmans, gentleman, whose son and heir, William Wollascot, had livery in 1553. Six years later, Stephen Baxter of Ipswich, draper, was lord of this manor. He was succeeded, in 1589, by Stephen Baxter, gentleman, who died in 1609, and whose daughter Dorothy Baxter became the wife of Edmund Bohun esq. of Westhall. From him Dale hall passed to his grandson, the diarist: from the latter to his eldest surviving son, Edmund Bohun, who died without issue in 1731. By his will the 'manor and capital messuage called Dale hall, in Whitton and Thurlston,' were given with other property to his daughter in law Mary Bohun, 'as a reward for her constant dutiful and obedient carriage' towards him. On her marriage with Joseph Offley esq. of Norton hall, Derbyshire, in 1732, the Dale hall estate was conveyed to that gentleman. Their only son, Edmund Offley, died in 1751, soon after attaining his majority, unmarried, having attempted, under peculiar circumstances, to divert, from his two sisters, into the hands of strangers, the whole of the noble property he had inherited. The successful effort of a Mr. Robert Newton, an intimate friend of their father, and a relative of Robert Newton Shaw esq. now of Kesgrave, Suffolk, to defeat this misguided scheme, forms the leading incident of a tale in Plummer Ward's 'Illustrations of human life.' That writer has mingled with a lively view of the uprightness, energy, good sense, and true friendship of Mr. Newton, certain unfounded imputations of crime, motives purely imaginary, an idle ghost story, and a mutilation of facts which were sufficiently interesting in themselves. See 'A true account of the alienation and recovery of the estates of the Offleys of Norton in 1751; by the Rev. Joseph Hunter F.R.S.A.' Lond. 1811. The younger of the two sisters mentioned above, became the wife of Francis Edmunds esq. of Worsborough in the county of York, and left a son, Mr. Francis Offley Edmunds, under whose will Dale hall passed, with other estates, to the late William Bennet Martin esq. of Worsborough; and by that gentleman this property was sold, about 1835, to William Charles Fomereau esq. of Christchurch park, Ipswich. It remains to be noticed that the old mansion called Dale hall, originally built in a sober but substantial style not uncommon in the neighbourhood, and occupying a retired situation, has not escaped modern 'improvement.' A carved oak girder across the principal apartment is one of the few perceptible relics of its better days.

was about 300£ in my debt; and besides spoyled my estate. So I resolved to part with him on any termes; though I went into it myself. Much I laboured to let that estate; but I could not. So with great anguish of mind, I went down to Ipswich in August; and left my wife in London to dispose of my family and put off my house. I left the farme in the tenant's hands till our lady 1691. And then I went into it, with a sorrowful heart; because I was forced to borrow money to stock it, and paid excessive taxes besides.

About this time I wrote 'The character of queen Elizabeth', and sent it up to London; but I could never get it printed, till I came to be licenser of the press myself.

I lived in Dale hall in great poverty and distress; being loath to encrease my debt and scarce able to subsist. Allways, when I was alone, calling upon God for some relief. And when others made our distresses an argument for the recalling the late king, I said he had brought us thus low in so short a time, and if he ever returned our condition would be intollerable under him, who hated us, and desired our ruine, and rejoeyced in it.

During this time I was very intent upon the enlarging my 'Geographical dictionary'; and wrote letters frequently to Charles Brome about it; pleasing myself in nothing more than the improvement I should, one day, make of that book. In May 1691, I found, in a gazett of the 18th of that moneth, an advertisement of a second edition of it, 'corrected and enlarged by Edmund Bohun esq.' This pierced my heart like a clap of thunder; and I wrote, the next post, to have a disclaimer of it printed in the gazett.^a But it was denied. So I went up to London to procure it; but could not. Much anger passed between us about it; but he prevailed to that degree that I could have no right till, in June, he printed another advertisement that the additions were by another hand. And, in September following, I found means to do myself some right in a letter before Mr. Eachard's 'Compendium of geography.'^b

^a 'The London gazette', published by Edward Jones, whose 'large charity' and 'remarkable justice' are praised by Duntton; and to whom Mr. Bohun, in his preface to his 'Three charges', appeals for the truth of the statement in the text.

^b The Rev. Lawrence Echard, the historian, was a native of Barsham, near Beeches, and was baptized there, 23rd March 1671. His father, Thomas Echard, though not, as stated by some writers, minister of Barsham, is called 'clerk' in the parish register of 1676 and subsequent years. Ringsfield, an adjoining village, was the birthplace of Mr. Bohun. He was older than Echard; and from him, it is not improbable, the latter may have imbibed some portion of his taste for historical inquiry. The same circumstances account for Mr. Bohun's having written the commendatory letter to Mr. Echard which is prefixed to the second edition of his 'Compendium of geography', published, as was also the first edition, in 1691, the year in which its author preceeded A. N. at Christ's college Cambridge. The letter

The person he imployed is said to be a Jacobite; and what he put in or left out, of that nature, falling upon me, I got, by his means, the reputation of a Jacobite, and a knave too, in that I had cheated the world with pretended corrections and additions when it was neither corrected or enlarged to any purpose.

1692. The taxes continued high, yea encreased, in the next year.^c So that I fell into such poverty that it was a shame to me. But I resolved to beare all patiently; that I might maintain my eldest and most beloved son in Cambridge, for whom I would willingly have sacrificed my life. This year proved also very unseasonable; and I had the vexation to see my crop strid^d with the incessant raines. So that I lived a life truly full of misery, poverty, and disquiet.

In August, I heard Mr. Frasier was put out of the licenser's place.^c But I had neither money nor friends; and so could not pretend to it, now I lived at that distance. So I committed myself to God; and resolved to struggle out a poor, obscure life, as well as I could.

About a week after, being the middle of August, I had a letter from the now bishop

in question is dated 'Ipswich Sept. 3. 1691.' After noticing the success and usefulness of Richard's publication, praising its brevity, method, and clearness, and pointing out the 'true way of using' the book, our autobiographer writes as follows. 'As to yourself, sir, you need not trouble or concern yourself with the censures of some men. The world was never guilty of too much good nature in this or any other thing. There is a secret envy that ever waits upon all those that have presumed to instruct the world; for though few men have wealth enough, yet they are all wondrous wise, and take it very ill to be better informed.

'I can but congratulate your good fortune in meeting with a civil bookseller, that would give you the liberty of correcting and enlarging your own work, since the second impression of my Geographical dictionary was so lately printed, without my knowledge, as corrected and enlarged, when in truth it is neither; and this after I had spent three years in that work at the request of the publisher. This is an affront that will try the patience of an author to the utmost, though those that are not such can hardly think it an injury, or at least but a very slight one. But then as to personal reflections or verbal injuries, these I ever thought worthy of nothing but neglect; and time, if nothing else, will bring you to approve of this sentiment of, sir, your most affectionate friend and servant, EDMUND BOHUN.'

^c 'The courtiers and great officers', Sir William Sedley observed, in his memorable speech against exorbitant pensions, 'charge as it were in armour. they feel not the taxes by reason of their places; whilst the country gentlemen are shot through and through by them'. Parl. deb. ii, 327.

^d 'Stey, to destroy, to waste.' Forby, 'Vocabulary of East Anglia.'

^e 'The immediate cause of Mr. Fraser's removal is said to have been his licensing the Rev. Dr. Walker's book, intitled 'The true, modest, and faithful account of the author of Eikon basilike.' 'Character of Edmund Bohun', p. 31.

of Norwich ' that, if I thought fit, he would recommend me to be licenser ' ; which I

' John Moore, prebend of Norwich; elevated to the episcopal chair 1691; translated to Ely 1707; died 1714: a liberal patron of learning; and whose library of thirty thousand volumes, besides MSS., was presented to the university of Cambridge by king George I.

' In connexion with this attempt to illustrate the autobiography of a learned licenser, it may not be deemed very improper to collect some facts relative to the censorship of the press in England, a topic which, though briefly treated, will require the reader's indulgence for a lengthened note.

' Books', Milton has observed, ' are not absolutely dead things, but as lively and as vigorously productive as those fabulous dragon's teeth; and, being sown up and down, may chance to pierce up armed men.' By them the product of the mind is multiplied as well as perpetuated. He who speaks through the press speaks as with many tongues. If he utter defamation, profanity, or treason, he is held amenable to the law with no less propriety than if he harangue a multitude with the living voice. But as, among the free people of Britain, the wildest demagogue is not punished on suspicion, or officially required to rehearse and be certified before hand of his loyalty, so neither is any state functionary now permitted to pry into the desk or printing office. Penalty follows transgression; and nearly all that the legislature demands by anticipation is that some person shall be ready to answer to the charge.

During a long period after the invention of the art of printing, far other views prevailed. Not only did the council of Trent and the Spanish inquisition condemn whatever ' was not to their palate,' or have it ' straight into the new purgatory of an index'; even in England printing was looked upon as a matter of state, subject to the coercion of the crown, and was regulated ' by the king's proclamations, prohibitions, charters of privilege and of license, and, finally by the decrees of the court of star chamber.' Blackst. Com. ed. Steph. v, 281.

As an example of ' charters of privilege', may be mentioned the license obtained by William Seres of London, stationer and bookseller, dated 14th March, 7 Edw. vi, ' to print all manner of praymers that then were and that from thenceforth shoulde be sett forth agreeable to the booke of common prayer.' Strype, Memor. i, 378, 501; Egerton papers, (Cam. soc.) 138, 139.

Queen Mary I. adopted a more constitutional method than her imperious successor, in restraining the press; inasmuch as, in November 1558, 5 and 6 Philip and Mary, a bill was brought into the house of Lords for this purpose. The bill did not pass, and Mary's death dissolved the parliament. Seres was however deprived of his patent ' to his great losse, ymprisoned longe tyme, and deprieved of great multitude of the prymeres and also of great number of bookes; which tended to his utter undoinge.' Egerton papers, 140. Queen Elizabeth, to compensate him, gave him, soon after her accession, the privilege of sole printing ' all manner of bookes of pryvate prayers ' called ' prymeres, and also of psalters, in latyn or englishe'. Ibid, 140. In 1571, the privilege was renewed in favour of William Seres and his son of the same name; and extended to all other books which either of them ' had ymprinted or shoulde ymprint, which had ben, or shoulde have ben, sett forth by any lorned man' of the realm. And, to remove a technical doubt as to the validity of this patent, another was conceded to the younger Seres, in 1591, to the same effect, and ' streyghtlie inhibitinge' any infringement of the ' pryveledge, uppon paine of forfeitue' of all such books printed by others. Egerton papers, 112, 143.

Elizabeth, in the first year of her reign, 1559, issued an injunction setting forth that printers ' for covetousness chiefly regard not what they print, so they may have gain'; and declaring that no person shall print any book or paper, 'except the same be first licensed by her majesty, or by six of her privy council, or by the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the bishop of London, the chancellors of

thankfully accepted, provided I might have a salary out of the gazetts. In the

both universities, the bishop, being ordinary, and the archdeacon of the place where any such shall be printed, or by two of them whereof the ordinary of the place to be always one, and the names of such as shall allow the same to be added in the end of every such work, for a testimony of the allowance thereof.' Directions were added as to printing 'pamphlets, plays, and ballads' and an exception in favour of works commonly allowed in universities or schools. 'Documentary annals', i, 229. This injunction is said to have been the origin of what is properly called the licensing of the press in this country.

In 1566 the star chamber, to prevent the issuing books against the religion established, printed, 'Ordinances decreed for reformation of divers disorders in printing and uttering books.' Nic. lit. ance. iii, 568.

Archbishop Whitgift and the lords of the privy council, on the 23rd June, 28 Eliz. 1586, made other rules for redressing abuses in printing. No printing press was allowed elsewhere than in London, except one in each university; and no book, with certain exceptions, was to be printed unless first perused by the archbishop of Canterbury or bishop of London. Extensive and arbitrary powers of search were also given to the company of stationers. Strype, Life of Whitgift, 222; Records, No. xxiv.

In the beginning of the reign of Charles I, it was alleged, in a petition of the printers and booksellers to the house of commons, that, the licensing being wholly restrained to bishop Laud and his chaplains, he allowed books which favoured popery, but denied license to such as were written against it. Archbishop Abbot remarked, upon Laud's licensing, that we seemed to have an expurgatory press, though not an index.

On the 1st July 1637, a decree was made by the court of star chamber similar to that of 1586. Rushworth, 'Historical collections', pt. ii, p. 450.

'The rebellion', it is said, 'set all the presses at liberty; and the two contending parties attacked one another as fiercely on paper as they did in the field. Mercurius politicus, Mercurius audicus, Intelligences, and many more, flew about in the cities and towers, as the bullets did in the open country.' Nic. lit. ance. iv. 86.

On the 14th June 1643, the two houses made an ordinance which forbade the printing or sale of any book unless licensed by persons appointed for that purpose. Parl. hist. xii, 298; Rushworth, v, 335. The licensers then appointed were as follows. For books of divinity: The Revs. Thomas Gataker, J. Downham, Callicott Downing, Dr. Thomas Temple, Joseph Caryl, Edmund Calamy, Mr. Carter of Yorkshire, Charles Herle, James Cranford, Obadiah Sedgwick, Mr. Batchelor, Mr. John Ellis jun. For law books: Sir John Bramston, Serjts. Rolls, Phesant, and Jernyn. For physic and surgery: the president and four censors of the college of physicians. For civil and canon law: Sir Nathaniel Brent, or any three doctors of the civil law. For herakry, titles of honour, and arms: one of the three kings at arms. For philosophy, history, poetry, morality and arts: Sir Nathaniel Brent, Mr. Langley and Mr. Farnaby, schoolmasters of St. Paul's. For small pamphlets, pictures, etc.: the clerk of the company of stationers. And, for mathematics, almanacks, and prognostications: the reader of Gresham college. Neal, 'History of the puritans,' ed. 1822, vol. iii, p. 42.

It was this ordinance which led to the publishing, about 1644, of Milton's eloquent expostulation, intitled 'Areopagitica: a speech for the liberty of unlicensed printing'; in which he boldly calls upon the parliament to show their love of truth 'by judging over again that order'. He does not deny 'that it is of greatest concernment' to watch 'how books demean themselves, as well as men'. But how heavy the task and the responsibility which rest upon the licenser! 'As good, almost, kill a man as kill a good book. . . Many a man lives a burden to the earth; but a good book is the precious life blood of a master spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life. . . It cannot be denied that

beginning of September, I had a second letter, that I was accepted, if I would come

he who is made judge, to sit upon the birth or death of books, had need to be a man above the common measure, studious, learned and judicious. . . . If he be of such worth as behoves him, there cannot be a more tedious and displeasing journey-work, a greater loss of time levied upon his head, than to be made the perpetual reader of unchosen books and pamphlets, oftentimes huge volumes. . . . Seeing, therefore,' he adds, 'those who now possess the employment, by all evident signs, wish themselves well rid of it, and that no man of worth, none that is not a plain unthrift of his own hours, is ever likely to succeed them, except he mean to put himself to the salary of a press corrector, we may easily foresee what kind of licensers we are to expect hereafter,—either ignorant, imperious, and remiss, or basely pecuniary.'

The lords and commons, however, passed, on the 28th September 1617, a still more severe ordinance against all persons printing any book, etc. without the license of one of the houses of parliament or of persons authorized by one or both houses. Parl. hist. xvi, 309.

On the 22nd May 1619, Gilbert Mabbott, who had the office of licenser, resigned that employment upon his own 'desire and reasons against licensing of books to be printed.' Lords' Journal, ix, 157; Commons' Journal, vi, 211; Whitelock, 'Memorials', 389.

The parliament, on the 20th September in the same year, prohibited printing, elsewhere than in London, the two universities, York, and Finsbury, without the license of the council of state. Scobell, 'Ordinances' pt. ii, 90. And again, on the 7th January 1652-3, another ordinance was passed for the suppression of unlicensed and scandalous books. Scobell, pt. ii, 231. These injunctions were founded, principally, on the star chamber decree of 1637.

During the interregnum, as indeed at all other periods, there was comparative freedom of the press for one political party. Hence Charles I. complained bitterly of the 'rude and scandalous pamphlets' whose authors 'speak evil of dignities and bring rayling accusations against those who are honoured with the name of gods.' And at the restoration it was deemed an affair of moment 'to put a period to that furious run of news and slander.' A bill for the regulation of printing was lost, however, in 1661, in consequence of the peers attempting to render the enactment more partial and oppressive by exempting their own houses from search.

In the following year was passed the important statute 13 and 14 Car. II. cap. xxxiii, which required all books to be licensed as follows: law books, by the lord chancellor or one of the chief justices or the chief baron; books of history or state affairs, by one of the secretaries of state or by his appointment; books of heraldry by the earl marshal or his appointment, or by garter and another of the kings at arms; and all other books, of divinity, physic, philosophy, or whatsoever science or art, by the archbishop of Canterbury or the bishop of London, or by their or one of their appointment, or, if printed at either university, by the chancellor or vice chancellor thereof. The act was to continue in force for two years from 10th June 1662.

Roger L'Estrange obtained, in August 1663, an appointment to a newly created office under the title of 'surveyor of the inprimery and printing presses', and also then or soon after, 'the sole licensing of all ballads, charts, printed portraictures, printed pictures, books and papers,' but with an important exception of books relating to law, affairs of state, heraldry, divinity, physic, philosophy, arts and sciences, and others. He had, moreover, 'the sole privilege of writing, printing, and publishing all narratives, advertisements, mercuries, intelligences, diurnals, and other books of public intelligence,' and 'power to search for and seize unlicensed and treasonable, schismatical and scandalous books and papers.' His place of business was in Ivy lane, and had the ominous sign of the *gallows*. The first fruits of his

up. The 3rd, I went for London. And had my commission the 7th of that moneth :

appointment were 'The intelligencer' and 'The newes', which appeared on mondays and thursdays until January 1665-6, when they were superseded by the 'London gazette'. Nic. lit. anc. iv, 51-58.

The act of 1662 was renewed by 16 Car. II, cap. xiii, 16 and 17 Car. II, cap. vii, and 17 Car. II, cap. iv. The statute expired on the 26th May 1679, when the king by dismissing the parliament emancipated the press. On the opening of that session it had been remarked that further care ought to be taken 'of regulating the press, from whence there daily stole forth popish catechisms, psalters, and books of controversy, and seditious and schismatical libels, too.' But the senate was otherwise occupied. And on the expiration of the act, it is said, 'the nation became so pestered with a swarm of lying, seditious, and treasonable pamphlets, papers, and pictures, that a man would have thought hell had been broken loose.' 'Address to the freemen', pt. II, p. 48. The practice then became common of printing weekly intelligencers or news books. This, his majesty, in May 1680, forbid by proclamation: an assumption of arbitrary power which excited considerable clamour, both against the king and against the judges by whom he was supported.

From 1679 to 1685 the press was free from legislative restraint. But the so called courts of justice which condemned Russell and Sidney would scarcely suffer any writer prosecuted by the government, to escape. Moreover it was held that, by the common law of England, no one had a right, without the permission of the crown, to publish political news. While the whig party was formidable, or the style and topics communicated were favourable to the court, the violation of this rule was condoned; but under other circumstances the royal prerogative was exercised more rigidly. At the close of the reign of Charles II, the 'London gazette', published twice a week, was the only authorized newspaper. As it contained no political intelligence except that which it suited the purposes of the court to publish, other information was furnished to the country through the medium of private 'news letters'; the writing of which became a vocation in London. Macaulay, Hist. Eng. i, 387, 389.

At length, by a few words, at the end of a statute which continued several expiring acts, 1 James II, cap. xvii, s. 15, the licensing act of 1662 was revived for seven years, from 24th June 1685, and from thence to the end of the next session of parliament. The writer of Bohun's 'Character' gives some remarkable instances of the increased severity with which the law was exercised. It is said that Baxter's 'Saint's rest', which had been often printed before the restoration, and was licensed, after the passing of the act of 1662, by Dr. Gregg, chaplain to the bishop of London, yet, coming to be reprinted in the reign of James II, 'was stopped, and the sheets seized, and an information brought against the printers in the crown office'; and that, 'in the same reign, the Assembly's catechism being found printing by one Howe, the poor man was indicted at the old Bailey and forced to leave his trade and fly the kingdom. And yet, at this time, such books as were wrote to promote popery and tyranny were printed and published without control.' p. 9. It was under the act of James II, though after his abdication and in a very different state of public affairs, that the office of licenser was conferred on Mr. Bohun.

Even after the revolution, the statute of 1662 was again continued, by 1 and 5 Wm. and Mary, cap. xxiv, s. 11, for one year from 13th February 1692-3.

In 1693-4, on the expiration of the period limited by the last mentioned statute, the press of this country became free; and it has, ever since, so continued. Blackst. Com. ed. Steph. iv, 285.

Frequent attempts were made by the government to reimpose the yoke. Commons' Journals, 11th February 1694, 26th November 1695, 22nd October 1696, 9th February 1697, 31st January 1698. A bill introduced by Mr. Pulteney in 1697, but which was negatived on a second reading, seems to have occasioned the publication of 'A letter to a member of parliament, showing that a restraint on the press

the whole to be made 200£ the year. And now I thought myself the happiest man alive. His lordship¹ also paid me, at my entrance, 25£, to put me into cloaths, which were shamefully mean then.

I applied myself to my business; and obtained, soon after, the archbishop's and bishop of London's commission. So I was the sole licenser.² But now the whigg party, who had used intolerable liberty, before, against the monarchy and the church, knowing my principles would not suffer this for the future, began to murmur, scatter lies, mixed with threats and bitter complaints. I, on the contrary, would suffer nothing to pass that might exasperate any of the parties; and treated the booksellers and printers with all the kindness and address that was possible; reading, to the hazard of my health and eyes, to dispatch their business, and not disobliging any man in any thing, as far as was possible.

The 2nd of December I received an account that my beloved son³ was dead at Cambridge. He was then to have taken his degree, and, overstudying himself, fell into a melancholy and distrust of himself; and in it, concealing it from his tutor and

is inconsistent with the protestant religion and dangerous to the liberties of the nation.' Printed 1697, and reprinted in the 'State tracts in the reign of William III,' vol. ii, p. 611, and also in Cobbett's 'Parliamentary history, v, app. p. cxxx.

During the conflict of parties in 1701 great complaint was made of the abuses resulting from the liberty of the press, and fresh restrictions were threatened. It was on this account Dr. Foe published his 'Essay upon the regulation of the press'. Lond. 1701, 8to. Above all things he deprecated the revival of the state licenser's office, proposing, as a sufficient remedy for all real mischief from a free press, the regulation that every author should set his name to what he writes, or the printer or publisher be held responsible for what is printed. About the same time appeared a tract intitled 'Reasons against restraining the press.' Lond. 1701. This was reprinted in Lord Somers' Tracts, and, again by Mr. Baron in his 'Pillars of priestcraft.' Dr. Tindal is said to have been the author. It argues with much force, that there can be no freedom in a state unless the liberty of the press be maintained.

Besides other authorities for this note, the editor has been much indebted to a correspondent of 'Notes and Queries'; vol. ii, p. 125. It only remains to be observed that, while no important party would now desire to see the censorship of the press revived, and while even some unrepented restrictions are becoming practically obsolete, yet in proportion to the degree of freedom enjoyed in the use of so powerful an engine, is the responsibility to wield it for good and not for evil—the duty of refraining from any abuse of a privilege so long denied, so sacred and invaluable.

¹ Daniel Finch, second earl of Nottingham, the secretary of state from whom Mr. Bohun received his primary appointment, having reluctantly abandoned the cause of the Stuarts, was made a privy counsellor immediately after the proclamation of William and Mary.

² With the exception, however, it seems, of the earl marshal or kings at arms; to whom was entrusted the licensing of books concerning heraldry, &c. It is scarcely necessary to mention that Tillotson was in the archiepiscopal seat and Compton the diocesan of London.

³ Humphry, his eldest son.

me, he perished. This almost broke my heart; and I have not, nor perhaps never shall overgrow that intolerable grief.

Whilst I was struggling with this bitter passion, I received notice that there was a strong report spread abroad that I was a Jacobite; and this was founded on the second edition of my 'Geographical dictionary.'¹ So I resolved to print 'Three charges'² with a letter, to give the world an account of that and a folio edition that

¹ The charge of Jacobitism was unfairly rested upon the 'Geographical dictionary.' In the preface to the first edition the compiler expressly 'declined saying anything that might give any persuasion of men offence.' But, after the revolution, the slightest indications of his previous political bias were exaggerated, by contrast with the general leaning of the times; and he was not allowed the opportunity of altering a word.

² 'Three charges delivered at the general quarter sessions holden at Ipswich, for the county of Suffolk, in the years 1691, 1692. To which is added the author's vindication from the calumnies and mistakes cast on him on account of his Geographical dictionary. By Edmund Bohun esq.' Lond 1693, 4to. Bodd. C. 8. 18. Line. The first of these addresses, delivered 10th October 1691, was chiefly devoted to a consideration of the reasons why the English laws were no better executed. Three causes were mentioned. '1. Partiality: every man excepts one man, and that sin he has then occasion for. Punish thieves and murderers as much as you please; . . . but let conscience be free. What, all conscience? No, punish the papist and atheist. For what? For not keeping his church and serving of God. Why, oh man, thou art guilty of the same thing. Ay, but I do it out of conscience. And so may the first of these as truly say, and the latter as confidently; and none but God that knows the heart can confute them. . . . 2. Laziness: the execution of laws is a laborious and painful task: *expertus laborior*. . . . 3. Cowardice: he that doth his duty must expect great opposition and much ill usage and some revenge.' Charging the jurors to present all treasons, he observes, 'Such are the misfortunes of our times that loyalty itself is now suborned and made accessory to the disquieting and endangering two of the best princes that ever set upon the English throne; and men think and say they do not owe them the same allegiance they did their predecessors, because they are *so de facto*, and not *de jure*. A bold and false assertion; but which will not justify the conclusion, if it were true.' The second charge was delivered at the sessions opened on Friday, 8th April 1692, 'and held by adjournment to the 9th of the same, it being a general fast that day'; and was repeated on Friday, 22nd July, in the same year, 'with some few alterations.' The argument is expressly directed against those who were disaffected to the government. Drawing his illustrations from his favourite department of study, sacred and profane history, the learned justice shows that 'men in all ages have been most insolent, most discontented, when deliverance, prosperity, peace, and plenty have been given them, and their wishes prevented.' Having referred to the persecution endured by the Christians, A.D. 303, under Diocletian, and the subsequent edict in their favour published by Constantine and Licinius, A.D. 313, he asks, 'How did the Christians now behave themselves in this great and sudden change from an abyss of misery to the height of temporal felicity? Why, I assure you, though Diocletian was then living and an abdicated prince, there was not one Jacobite in that age, not one Christian, that scrupled to swear allegiance to Constantine and Licinius; and when Licinius too returned to his paganism, and fell a persecuting, he was soon after abdicated and deposed too; and he found never a Jacobite to port and murmur and plot for him neither. Why, these men had suffered enough of all conscience to satisfy them that,

was then coming out, and so put a stop to that report. But they that raised it knew better things than ever to let me pass clear; and, that pretence being obviated, they had another.

A violent outrageous whig was employed to write my 'character'^m and get it printed underhand; and copys of it were dispersed to them they could trust; and all heads,

though they might not draw their swords against their pagan persecuting princes, yet God had not tied up his own hands too, but he might raise up a prince of Orange, and he, by the favour of God upon his arms might lawfully pull those tyrants from their thrones, and divest them of that power which, being given them by God for the good of men, they had abused to the ruin of his church, the destruction of true piety, the encouragement of perjury, idolatry, and all manner of wickedness, and, as much as in them lay, to the desolation of the world.' Respecting the third 'change' Mr. Bohun informs his reader that it was given, 7th October 1692, when he 'was leaving that country, to settle at London as licenser to the press.' 'I am now, by the order of my superiors, to leave you, and to act in another sphere, in the service of the best king and queen that has, for many years, perhaps ever, reigned in these kingdoms.' He contrasts their majesties' efforts for the public good, with the state of things under Charles I and Charles II, who, though 'excellent princes', yet 'had queens of another religion'; and he infers that William and Mary were 'entitled to the utmost love, loyalty, and devotion.' Further, he observes, 'As to myself, since I am to leave you so shortly, I think I am bound, with Samuel the prophet, to assure you, my dear countrymen, that I have not, willingly, wronged any of you, great or small, in much or little. If I have, through human frailty, offended any man, I beg his pardon, and assure him, and all the world, it was against my will and the strongest resolution I could take. . . The Saviour of the world, when he was leaving his beloved friends, exhorted them to love, peace, and union, as the greatest good they were capable of in this world, yet in heaven;—for, take away these, and divide the inhabitants, if it were possible, of the celestial regions, into factions and parties, and let these mutually hate and oppress one the other, bely and slander one the other, as we do here below, and I fear the joys of heaven would abate.'

^m 'Reasons humbly offered for the liberty of unlicens'd printing; to which is subjoined the just and true character of Edmund Bohun the licenser of the press.' In a letter from a gentleman in the country to a member of parliament.' Lond. 1693, 4to. The 'reasons' consist of a mutilated abridgment of Milton's 'Speech for the liberty of unlicensed printing', signed with *his* initials, and occupying nine pages of the pamphlet; the 'character', extending to twenty three pages, being attached as a post-script. It was dated 'January 17, 1693,' three days before the licenser was arrested; and an 'advertisement' was added, at the end, after he 'fell under the displeasure of the parliament.' In the 'character' Mr. Bohun's earlier writings are somewhat unfairly adduced to prove his unfitness for his office of licenser; passages are extracted from books he had sanctioned, to shew that he favoured the dangerous; and the anonymous writer, though he had no difficulty in making a show of inconsistency on the part of his victim, displays, throughout, the common union of feeble reasoning and scurrilous abuse.

Dunton speaks of Mr. Bohun, in the capacity of licenser, with apparent candour and impartiality. 'Our last licenser before the act of printing expired, was Edmund Bohun esq. He licens'd for me that remarkable book called The second Spira, and was wont often to visit me. He uses great freedom of speech, as one that would neither seek nor dread the power of any. He once took the shortest way with dissenters; and was noted for a furious man against them. He has a wit so pregnant and prompt to every thing, that you would think it was formed for the very thing, whatsoever it was, he was about.

hands, and tongues were employed to blow up this dangerous enemy before he was well known, for fear he should prove a second Roger to them."

1692-3.

The 9th of January, there was brought me a book by one Richard Baldwin,^o intituled, 'King William and queen Mary conquerors: or a discourse endeavouring to prove that their majesties have, on their side against the late king, the principal reasons that make conquest a good title: shewing also how this is consistent with that declaration of parliament, king James abdicated the government: written with a special regard to such as have hitherto refused the oath, and yet incline to allow of the title of conquest when consequent to a just war.' 'Licensed, Jan. 11, 1693: Edmund Bohun.' I read it over, that day and the next, with incredible satisfaction; finding it well written, close argument, modest and full of reason; and which I believed could not fail to satisfy great numbers of the non-swearers, for whose sake only it was written. I knew several of them had been won over to take the oaths and submit upon that hypothesis; and others had wished that it had been more at large explained; and I was glad I had got so good a book, that might, perhaps, have

He is sufficiently qualified to be a licenser, for he is a man well skilled in most kinds of literature. Besides, under the rose, he is a pretty author himself; has written a Geographical dictionary; revised and enlarged Heylin's Cosmography; and, were it not for his former carriage towards dissenters, I would call him the Phoenix of the learned licensers.' 'Life and errors,' p. 268.

^o What Sir Roger had been to them may be gathered from his 'Considerations and proposals in order to the regulation of the press.' Lond. 1663, 4to. And see Nic. lit. anec. iv, 55, 56.

^o 'He printed a great deal, but got as little by it as John Dunton.' He lived in the Old Bailey; but removed to Warwick lane; and, 'soaring out of his element, had the honour of being a bookseller but few months. However, to do Mr. Baldwin justice, his inclinations were to oblige all men, and only to neglect himself. . . His purse and his heart were open to all men that he thought were honest; and his conversation was very diverting. He was a true lover of king William; and, after he came on the livery, always voted on the right side.' Dunton, 'Life and errors,' pp. 259, 260.

^o 'Some of the prince's advisers pressed him to assume the crown at once, as his own by right of

conquest,' as 'the shortest way to what could otherwise he attained only through innumerable difficulties and disputes. It was in strict conformity with the auspicious precedent set, after the battle of Bosworth, by Henry the seventh. It would also

quiet the scruples which many respectable people felt, as to the lawfulness of transferring allegiance from one ruler to another. Neither the law of England nor the church of England recognised any right

done them more good now than it would at first; for poverty had effectually made many of them weary of their prejudices, and they seemed to wish for a deliverance. The campaign was about to be opened abroad; and it was good, if it was possible, to lessen our enemies at home. Baldwin asked me if I did not think it the best way to change the title; and, considering the whole together, I told him I thought not; because I believed it would more invite the non-swearers to read it, as it now stood, than if it were altered; and as for the Williamites or friends of the government, its whole scope tended so much to the uniting of the nation, that I never suspected any displeasure from them: God he knoweth it. But how much is poor frail mankind

in subjects to depose their sovereign. But no jurist, no divine, had ever denied that a nation overcome in war, might, without sin, submit to the decision of the God of battles.' Macaulay, *Hist. Eng.* ii, 582. Even Filmer held that 'possession was the only right to power.' Dr. Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph, told lord Clarendon that 'he looked upon acquisition to beget a right,' and broached a similar opinion in his 'Discourse of God's ways of disposing of kingdoms.' Bishop Burnet adopted the same views in his 'Pastoral letter.' Archbishop Sancroft, while he denied 'the right of electing kings, concluded that if the government were to be altered, it must be by force of conquest.' Dr. Fitzwilliam, another nonjuror, wished that the revolution had been owned to be a virtual conquest. And it seemed impossible to deny that, by whatever means William and Mary had obtained possession of the throne, the battle of the Boyne had given or confirmed a title by conquest. De Foe, again, while he gave expression to the prevailing sentiment,

'Conquest, as by the moderns 'tis express'd,
May give a title to the lands possess'd,'—

suggested a distinction which was at least specious, when he added, in compliment to William,

'Princes for pride and lust of rule make war,
And struggle for the name of conqueror;
Some fight for fame, and some for victory,
He fights to save, and conquers to set free.'

'On the other side, however', Macaulay proceeds to remark, 'there were reasons which greatly preponderated. The prince could not claim the crown as won by his sword, without a gross violation of faith. In his Declaration he had protested that he had no design of conquering England; that those who imputed to him such a design foully calumniated, not only himself, but the patriotic noblemen and gentlemen who had invited him over. . . It was notoriously a mere fiction to say that this great kingdom, with a mighty fleet on the sea, with a regular army of forty thousand men, and with a militia of a hundred and thirty thousand men, had been, without one siege or battle, reduced to the state of a province by fifteen thousand invaders. Such a fiction was not likely to quiet consciences really sensitive; but it could scarcely fail to gall the national pride already sore and irritable. . . It was also to be remembered that by putting forth such a proclamation the prince would at once abrogate all the rights of which he had declared himself the champion. For the authority of a foreign conqueror is not circumscribed by the customs and statutes of the conquered nation, but is, by its own nature, despotic. Either, therefore, it was not competent to William to declare himself king, or it was competent to him to declare the great charter and the petition of right nullities, to abolish trial by jury, and to raise taxes without the consent of parliament.' *Hist. Eng.* ii, 583, 584.

mistaken! When God gives up a man into the hands of his enemies, all things then tend to his ruine. This book being published about the 15th or 16th, the title alone offended almost everybody; and most men would not read the whole title; and of them that read the book the number was yet less. This gave my enemies an opportunity to increase the fire; and they that, a few days before, were labouring hard to have me thought a Jacobite, now pursued this alone, as a better medium to get me ruined.

The 19th of January, attending upon a committee of the commons for the benefit of my countrey, I was told some in the house said it was a rascally book. I said it was a very good and usefull book, as they would find who should read it. And so I went home, and thought no more of it; relying only upon my integrity.

The 20th, I went out after dinner, as I use to do, and was told the commons had voted me into custody, for that book, that morning. I did not at first believe it; but, as I returned, I had it confirmed so that I did not doubt of it. I returned home, to change my linen and to dress me, to go to Whitehall to speak with my master; and before I could get away I was taken by the messenger; who would not suffer me to see my master or any body that might direct me what to do or say. Yet I had liberty to be at home, and go any whither else.

The next morning I sent the messenger of the press with a letter to my lord Nottingham; and before he came back I was sent for to the house. Yet before I went he came back; but without one word of directions. There was some instructions sent after; but the man, finding me gone, looked no further after me, as he ought to have done. I had some smiles but more frownes, that day, from the members. I spoke to Sir Samuell Barnardiston^a and Sir John Barker^c about the book; telling them this subject had been treated of very often before and had been licensed without any exception. And the first said I should do well to say so in my excuse. I remained

^a Samuel Barnardiston esq. of Brightwell hall, Suffolk, third son of Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston, of Kenton, 'the top branch of the Suffolk cedars,' was created a baronet 11th May 1693. His election in 1673 as knight of the shire for Suffolk, in the place of Sir Henry North, then lately dead, was contested by Sir Lionel Talmach bart. and occasioned the 'great case' of Barnardiston v. Soames, 7 State tr. 431; 2 Lev. 111, 1 East, 568. On the 11th February 1683-4 Sir Samuel was fined £10,000 for writing some letters which contained expressions favourable to Lord William Russell, was committed, for nonpayment, to the king's bench, continued prisoner four or five years, and great waste and destruction made on his estate. He was re-elected for Suffolk, with Sir Gervase Elwes, in 1690, and 1695.

^c Sir John Barker bart. of Grimston hall, Suffolk, succeeded his brother Sir Jermy Barker in 1665. Their ancestors, from a remote period, had resided in Ipswich; and Sir John again made that place the abode of the family. He represented the borough in several parliaments during the reigns of Charles II, James II, and William and Mary. He died in 1696.

all that day in great anxiety and fear; not knowing what to do or say; no man giving me any comfort or advice; and confined I was to a very small room, and not suffered to stir out, though with my keeper. Many men reproaching me for the book who knew nothing of it, judged and condemned me by the votes; and one Bently of Covent Garden, who sent it to Baldwin, asked me angrily why I licensed it. I said I had no reason to refuse it a license, for it was a good book. This was all I said to all those that reproached me. And many of them seemed to admire I should say or think so.

The vote runnes thus :

Veneris, 20 die Januarii. Complaint being made to this house of a printed pamphlet intituled *King William and Queen Mary conquerors* : etc. wherein are several matters asserted of dangerous consequence to their majesties, to the liberty of the subject and peace of the kingdom : resolved, nemine contradicente, That Edmund Bohun, the licenser, be sent for in custody of the serjeant at arms attending this house, to answer the same.*

I remained in great admiration what the things or places should be; being confident, if the book was not changed, there could be no such thing in it, however interpreted. Yet I fear many men took this for true, without any inquiry into the remainder of the title or one page of the book. I resolved to mark the pages and beg time to give in my answer; and that was all I thought would have been done that night; and the next day, being sunday, many members would read the book, and so be the abler to judge of it and me by monday. But they that had resolved to ruine me had considered this, and were resolved to give the house no time for second thoughts.

About three or four of the clock, I was sent for in; and made my three bowes as low as I could. But when I came to look on the house in general I could see it was prejudiced against me. I stood expecting when the speaker* would begin. At last they that sat next me cried, 'Why do you not answer?' I said, 'I have heard no voice yet to answer'; and somebody said, 'He is deaf.' So the speaker sent the clerk to stand by me and tell me the questions; as he did.

SPEAKER. 'Have you read the act for governing of the press?'

BOHUN. 'Yes, my lord, very often.'

SPEAKER. 'Did you license a book stiled, *King William and queen Mary conquerors*?'

* Sir John Trevor knt., member for Yarmouth, Hampshire, was chosen speaker 20th March 1689-90. Burnet says 'he was a bold and dexterous man and knew the most effectual ways of recommending himself to every government. He had been in great favour in king James's time, and was made master of the rolls by him.' Macaulay observes that Trevor 'could, on occasion, imitate, not unsuccessfully, the vituperative style of his patron' Jeffreys. But, as he was himself a tory, he dealt more tenderly with the editor of Filmer and the opponent of Sidney. Trevor was expelled the house, 20th March 1691, for taking a private gratuity of a thousand pounds for his public services in a particular case; and retired to his mastership of the rolls, which he retained for several years. Tindal; *Parl. hist.* v, 547, 906-910; Macaulay, *Hist. Eng.* i, 508.

BOHUN. 'Yes, willingly.' (Many laughed.)

SPEAKER. 'Did not the title offend you?'

BOHUN. 'No my lord.' ('Say speaker,' said he.) 'I read the book very carefully over, and strook out of it many things which I thought might give offence; and I did adjudge it a good book, to bring over the non-swearers to the present government; because I have observed many of them yield more readily to the arguments from conquest than to any other.' (Here the house interrupted me again with laughter; and the speaker reprehended them for it. Then I went on.) 'I have seen also many books of the same subject in part; and they have been licensed, and passed without offence; and I did not apprehend any man would be offended with this book.'

SPEAKER. 'Have you taken the oaths to their majesties?'

BOHUN. 'Yes, sir, three times: in the first year of their majesties' reigns, as justice of the peace for Suffolk; in the beginning of this year, upon the poll bill; and since I came into this place, as justice of the peace of Middlesex and Surrey.'

SPEAKER. 'Who brought you the book?'

BOHUN. 'Richard Baldwin.'

SPEAKER. 'Who is the author?'

BOHUN. 'I know not: I asked Baldwin, and he said he did not know. Nor did I much regard that, knowing he must answer for that.'¹

SPEAKER. 'Did you see Baldwin after he had his book again, before it was printed?'

BOHUN. 'Indeed I cannot remember now whether I did or no.'

SPEAKER. 'Recollect your memory.'

BOHUN. 'It is so small a thing that I can say nothing of it.'

SPEAKER. 'Did you signe the manuscript or a printed book?'

BOHUN. 'The manuscript.'

SPEAKER. 'Are you sure of it?'

BOHUN. 'Indeed, to the best of my remembrance, it was the manuscript.'

Then he sent a book down which he had in his hand, and said,

(SPEAKER.) 'Is this your hand?'

BOHUN. 'Yes, sir, it is.'

SPEAKER. 'Why, that is a printed book: you see you are mistaken.'

BOHUN. 'I see, Mr. Speaker, I am: for which I beg your pardon. My thoughts are disturbed, having never spoken here before; and my memory does not serve me as it might in other circumstances. But the book I read was a manuscript; and I

¹ By statute 14 Car. II, c. xxxiii, it was enacted that the printer of every book should declare the name of the author thereof, if thereunto required by the licenser.

² The act required that the licenser should have a written copy of the book to be licensed, and which should be returned to him after being printed.

strook out of it what I thought might give offence; and it was far from my thoughts to offend any man; for I licensed it for the publick good; and if any is offended at it I am sorry.'

SPEAKER. 'Withdraw.'

The clerk went back before all this was said; and Mr. Speaker asked me a question which I did not hear. One that sat next me said, 'Now you cannot hear';—for I had answered most of the questions without the clerk's repeating them, the speaker raising his voice a little, after he was once in. I replied to him, 'I do not hear the question.' So the clerk came down again and stood by me till all was done.

There may be many faults found with all this, because I never saw the manner of it and had no manner of direction what to say or do. And perhaps some might be offended with my mistakes in the form of speech; but I was wholly taken up to speak truth and reason, and neither knew nor could tell where to learn it; and I have entered every word as it was spoken, as far as I can remember it, without adding or diminishing. I expected to be sent for in again, to be reprimanded, or further examined; and then I meant to beg the pardon of the house; but I was never sent for any more.

The directions which I should have had, but which came to me the next day:

'That he licensed this book apprehending there was nothing in it hurtful to the government or contrary to the sense of the parliament; and that the things in it contained had been often asserted and printed before, without any publick reproof or censure. That he is sorry he has given offence to this honourable house and most humbly begs their pardon.'

The sum of it is contained above; only the last clause; which I intended, too, to do when I came in the second time; which I verily expected; as also to beg to be discharged; which I said nothing of, being hurried with my thoughts.

Whilst the house was in debate a gentleman, whom I believed to be a member, came to me to know who put me in. I said, 'My three masters.' 'What money did you give?' I said, 'Not one farthing.'

About an hour after, Sir J. Barker came to me, and said they had ordered the book to be burnt by the hands of the hangman, and me to be dismissed of my employment; but I was still to continue in custody besides. The rest, before me, had been reprimanded and discharged; but my ruine was the thing they sought.

The vote ran thus:

'21. Resolved, nemine contradicente: That a printed pamphlet intituled King William and queen Mary *conquerors*, etc. wherein are several matters asserted of dangerous consequence to their majesties, to the liberties of the subject and peace of the kingdom, be *burnt* by the hands of the *common hangman*.'

Note, that in my examination not one tittle was objected against any thing in the book, but the title.

‘Resolved: that the members of this house who are of his majesty’s most honourable privy council do humbly move his majesty that Edmund Bohun, the licenser of the press, be removed from his employment.’

This came to a vote, but was over-ruled by majority; many acknowledging they voted against me as an enemy to the church and present government.

A complaint being made of a printed book intituled ‘A pastoral letter,’*

‘Resolved: that the debate be adjourned.’

This was first in their intention; but, being written by Dr. Burnet lord bishop of Salisbury, they durst not begin with it, till my business had levelled the way.

Being thus cut up by the roots, and all men blaming and reproaching me, and, amongst them, Bently, who sent me the book, I went home, with my keeper, very melancholy; having nothing but my conscience to support me. And as I came back I sent for the bishop of Norwich down; who seemed angry at what I had said and done, saying I acted very imprudently; to which I replied I had no direction and must act as I could; and I had no more prudence than I had; which he said was true.

The next day my melancholy grew so high that it overcame me, and I had like to have fainted away as I sat in my chaire; considering this calamity hapned the same day the former at Cambridge. So I made my appeale and application to God for mercy: after which I became much quieter.

That evening I heard the lord Chandoice^a had said he read the book; and he thought it as good a book as had been written. This was a great comfort, that I had

* That is, the opposition to the vote was over-ruled.

^a Many of the clergy had taken the oaths to the new government with various reservations and distinctions; while some, with Saueroot at their head, had positively declined them. Hence Burnet, who had been promoted to the see of Salisbury and chosen to preach at their majesties’ coronation, thought it his duty to detail to the clergy of his diocese the arguments in favour of the required adhesion. He accordingly published the book already alluded to,—‘A pastoral letter concerning the oath of allegiance’, Lond. 1689, 4to; in which among other considerations, he alleged that ‘king James having so far sunk in the war that he both abandoned his people and deserted the government, all his right and title did accrue to the King in the right of a conquest over him.’ Burnet’s argument was sharply answered by the Rev. Samuel Johnson, chaplain to Lord William Russell, in ‘Notes upon the Phoenix edition of the Pastoral letter.’ Lond. 1691.

^b Lord Chandos was in the minority of peers who, in the debate of the 29th January 1688-9, voted for a regency and for retaining the style of king James II.

one witness of the goodness of the book. That evening the bishop of Norwich came to see me; and bad me be quiet; as indeed it was much effectual to that end.

JANUARY 23^d. I drew a petition, and endeavoured to put it into the house; but I could not. The forme was this:

To the knights, citizens, and burgresses in parliament assembled. the humble petition of Edmund Bohun esq. now in custody of the serjeant attending this honourable house—humbly sheweth, that your poor petitioner is very sorry he hath incurred the displeasure of this honourable house, humbly beggeth pardon for the same; and prayeth to be discharged from his confinement. So shall he ever pray. E. B.

Sir Christopher Musgrave³ was of opinion that it was too soon to ask it. And, besides, the house was in a ferment against the bishop of Salisbury.

23^d. Ordered. that the printed pamphlet intituled King William and queen Mary conquerors &c. be burnt by the common hangman, upon wednesday morning next, at ten of the clock, in the Palace yard, Westminster; and that the serjeant at arms attending this house do see the same performed; and that the sheriff of London and Middlesex do assist the serjeant at arms therein.

2. Resolved: that the printed book intituled A pastoral letter, be burnt by the hands of the common hangman.² Ordered: ut supra.¹

Many that would have voted against this were angry with those that had voted so high against me, and joyned in this vote, with the opposite party, by way of revenge. However, it much abated the envy that before oppressed me; most men pitying the bishop.

The debate was as high in the house of lords, about both these books, at the same time; and on saturday I was called at their bar; till they were told I was in custody. Yet there the bishops and some temporall lords opposed the thing. So the struggle was the greater.

The 24th, the manuscript of the book was delivered back to Mr. Bently; who said he believed it was writ by one Mr. Charles Blount.⁴ It was greatly suspected I writ it; but by the hand they found the contrary.

³ Younger son of Sir Philip Musgrave, a renowned royalist in the time of the civil war; died in 1701.

² The statement being made in the house of commons, that Burnet was 'the inventor of the notion of their majesties being conquerors,' occasioned a debate of several hours; and the resolution in the text was, at last, carried by a majority of only seven votes in a house of 317 members. Parl. hist. v, col. 756

⁴ Charles Blount, second son of Sir Henry Blount who attended king Charles I at Edge hill, was born in 1654. He was a literary man of some reputation; but lived an intidel, and died, in 1693, a suicide. The collection of his works, published in two volumes, with his life by Charles Gildon, does not include the pamphlet, 'King William and queen Mary conquerors'; which is now extremely scarce. Barke, Ext. bar.; Nic. lit. anec. i, 24.

This day, the lords came to a vote, which, the same day, they communicated to the commons.

‘Die Martis 24 Januarii 1692. Resolved, by the lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled: that the assertion of king William and queen Mary being king and queen by conquest, is highly injurious to their majesties, and inconsistent with the principles on which this government is founded, and tending to the subversion of the rights of the people.’

The commons resolved, *nemine contradicente*,

‘That the assertion’ etc. ‘is highly injurious to their majesties’ *rightful title to the crown of this realm*, inconsistent with the principles’ etc.

This vote opened my understanding, and shewed me the fault I had committed; which I understood no more than the great Mogul, before. For, supposing their title to be by election, that it is lawful to resist upon misgovernment, and that the people have a right to both, the book is against all these.

JANUARY 25th. This day the books were accordingly burnt, in both yards, by the votes of both houses; nobody regarding it. (The execution should have been that day, but it was put off till Friday.)

The 27th, I got my petition read, and an order to be discharged the next day; which was opposed by some men, and a virulent pamphlet produced against me in the house, stiled ‘Bohun’s character.’

‘Jan. 28. Edmund Bohun esp. was, according to the order, brought to the bar; where he, upon his knees, received a reprimand from Mr. Speaker, and was ordered to be discharged out of the custody of the serjeant at arms; paying his fees.’

I can give no account what this reprimand was, not having heard it, by reason of my distance and deafness.

The whole charge was £19 12s. 9d. besides the loss of my time and my employment.

The title of the book wrote against me is this, ‘Reasons humbly offered for the liberty of undlicensed printing; to which is subjoined the just and true character of Edmund Bohun, the licenser of the press: in a letter from a gentleman in the country to a member of parliament. London, printed in the year 1693.’^b

All that have yet spoken with me, to a man, say there is no fault in the book, but the title, that they can see who have read it. All the members of the house of commons that have spoken of it to me or my friends say I had hard measure. But one party say it was necessary to make an example, and it was my misfortune to fall in the way. Another, that the house fell into such a ferment that it was not possible to stop the current that bore all before it. Some said they pitied me, but could not help me.

^a See above, p. 100.

^b That is, the book condemned by the parliament.

On tuesday, the 24th of January, Mr. Chancellor of the exchequer acquainted the house that his majesty having, according to their order, been humbly moved that Edmund Bohun, the licenser of the press, be removed from his employment, his majesty was graciously pleased to say that it should be done.

Thus, in the twinkling of an eye, I found myself thrown, I knew not why, from my employment, only for doing my duty, or at worst for not knowing there was then a hot debate in the house upon the notion of *conquest*; which had never appeared in their publick votes, and was taken up, unknown to me, out of pure pique, against the bishop of Salisbury, with designe to revenge a supposed injury done, as was pretended, by him, to one of the members; which yet he denies. I was bound to read six or eight houres in a day; and had few acquaintance in the house; and so, when I was doing the king's business in my chamber, lost the opportunity of looking to my own security; and, trusting too much to the innocency of my intentions and the principles of loyalty and securing the present government, I fell into a mistake, which brought this trouble upon me. The great want of money that is now, made my master allow me too little and too uncertainly, to bear the charge of the office, so that, if I would live, I must work very hard; and my doing so hindered me of that time which was needful to discover the things that were then doing privately in the house.

—‘*Patru odiis, quorum cause acrioris quia iniquae.*’ Tac. Ann. l.⁴ The less there was of cause to hate or persecute me the greater was their rage against me. All the methods taken in the beginning of this reign were levelled at the subversion of the hereditary succession of the crown and of the regal authority; and it was crime enough in me that I embraced such an hypothesis, though at second hand, as would support them. And there appeared after the death of her majesty, more reason in the giving me up than wise men saw then.

It is high time to tell the secret spring that moved this whole affaire. In the beginning of this revolution, one Frasier, a Scot, was made licenser. Under him the whigg party had golden days. They printed what they pleased; and he licensed whatever they could write. These men knew I was not of his kidney; and from the first threatned to out me by one means or other. First, they began with their old art of lying: I was a Jacobite, a tub preacher, a hackney writer under Sir Roger L'Estrange. Then they ordered a little snarling slave of theirs to draw my ‘character’; and spread copys of it amongst the members; using these lyes, so contrary each to others, as they knew men stood affected; having a several one for every sort. I got

^a Sect. xxxiii. ‘The hatred with which they pursued him was unjust, and, for that reason, unrelenting.’ Murphy, tr.

intimation of the first; which, being founded on the second edition of my 'Geographical dictionary,' was more frequent than the rest, and I confuted it in the preface to the 'Three charges.' So they dropt that, and pretended I paid a double poll to avoid taking the oaths. Thus they brought all sorts of men that knew me not, to vote my ruine.

One Mr. How^e had been vice chamberlain to the queen, and had been turned out, as he imagined, by the procurement of the lord bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Burnet; and he had been long seeking an opportunity of revenge; but the bishop was too well supported to attaine it by a direct blow.

The earl of Nottingham had been laid hard at, in this session, and, amongst the rest, for licensing a book which mentioned something of 'conquest,' as was said. But then, he, too, was too well supported. Sam. Johnson¹ had printed a book, also, in the beginning of this session, in which he asserted all the wayes of solving the late revolution were false; and that the people of England had a right to depose their king for mal-administration, and to dispose of the crown by an election, as they thought fit; and that they had deposed the late king and elected the present king and queen; and they had no other title; with much more. This book was strangely caressed; and, I believe, occasioned the printing the book in question. And some others were licensed too, but not printed.

¹ John Howe, father of the first lord Chedworth, exerted himself in favour of the revolution; but afterwards joined the opposition, and gave great offence to the king by the boldness of his conduct.

² The Rev. Samuel Johnson, of whom Macaulay says, 'his morals were pure, his religious feelings ardent, his learning and abilities not contemptible, his judgment weak, his temper acrimonious, turbulent, and unconquerably stubborn.' Dr. Hiekes having asserted that a christian ought to die rather than resist, by force, either the king or any put in authority under him, Johnson published a book called 'Julian the apostate,' defending resistance in extreme cases. Johnson's Works, Lond. 1713, fol. This work, which procured him the sobriquet 'Julian', was answered by dean Hiekes in a piece intituled 'Jovian'; Lond. 1683, 8vo, and to which Johnson replied. Being imprisoned for writing 'Julian', he continued to wield his pen so forcibly against popery and tyranny that he was again tried, and condemned to stand three times in the pillory and to be whipped from Newgate to Tyburn, a sentence which was cruelly executed. His writings influenced the public mind not a little; and he was one of those whom king James found it impossible to forgive: from the second general pardon, published in September 1688, Johnson was expressly excepted. At the revolution he was set at liberty; the judgment against him was declared illegal; and the house of lords recommended him to king William, who granted him £300 a year for his own and his son's life, with £1000, in ready money and a place of £100 a year for his son. In 1692 he published the tract alluded to by Mr. Bohun: 'An argument proving that the abrogation of king James by the people of England' etc. 'was according to the constitution of the english government and prescribed by it: in opposition to all the false and treacherous hypotheses, of usurpation, conquest, desertion,' etc. Lond. 4to. 'Works,' p. 257. An advertisement of this book, proposed to be inserted in the 'City Mercury,' is said to have been expunged by Mr. Bohun as licencious. 'Character of Edmund Bohun,' p. 26.

This book coming out, called 'King William and queen Mary conquerors' etc., they fired at the first line, and had not patience to examine the whole title, much less the book. The 18th, I was told of it, but slighted it. The 19th, Mr. How made a speech against it; and the house, being so prepared, got an order to take me up; pretending, besides the title, there was many things in the body of the book; which were never regarded in the hearing, for fear the other party should have fired at it. That day I was taken; and heard the next, for fear the house should have cooled, or examined the book, on sunday, at leisure. The vote was carried so high against the book, for the bishop's sake and my lord's; and against me, to make way for a new licenser. So soon as they had done with me they fell, that night, upon the bishop; and, the debate being adjourned, began with it again on monday; by which time many had read the book, and now joyned with them to abate the envy thrown upon me, and not to be repaired now. So his book was ordered to be burnt at the same time and place; and I continued in custody.

I was amazed what the fault was in the book; and, till afterwards, I could not guess. The word 'conquerors', at last, I found was to be understood of the whole kingdom of England and of all in it; contrary to the title and the whole scope of the book." The things in it were, nevertheless, as dark as before, till the vote of the 25th, which shewed me my fault, in that I had licensed a book which was contrary to the infallible Mr. Samuel Julian Johnson; which I will never deny. 1. The hereditary succession is set up against that of election. 2. The doctrine of passive obedience, against the liberty of the people to revolt when time serve. 3. The natural allegiance of the subject, against a right to depose kings when they judge it needfull, and to dispose of their crowns by election, toties quoties. Thus I had sinned against the new apostle and confessor, Mr. Johnson; and my punishment, at nine days restraint, £20 expence, and the loss of my place, was too light. So out comes my 'character,' to perfect my ruine, and to intimidate the tory party and plane a way to storm the t—.

TELEGRAPHY 6th. I took the test oaths, at the chancery bar, to qualifie me as justice of the peace for Middlesex, Surrey, and Westminster; and to put an end to the slander that I had never taken the oaths to this government. And it was accordingly taken notice of in the newse letters. I received the sacrament for this, on Christmas day, and again on new year day, both sundays, in Ludgate church.

§ 'Now for conquest,' says Johnson, 'which is become a very great modern point. And here we meet with new and unheard of conquests, of a king conquered, and not one of his subjects; for so all the conquering bishops now pull in their horns and say, that they meant that king James alone was conquered, and not the nation.' 'Notes on the pastoral letter,' Johnson's works, p. 303.

A letter from Cambridge concerning the book burnt by the order of the parliament :

'As to the book, sir, I wish I could give ye a more perfect account of it. The first newse of it did wonderfully surprise the university; which made some judge a little hardly of ye at first, but the book growing common within two or three days after, all were extremely well satisfied with your intentions, and were as much to seek for a reason for its usage; all believing it to be free from any ill thing or designe. I read it myself, though in great haste; and I could not but take the author of it for a true-hearted, loyall, ingenious man. I talked with one this day, a very good judge, [who said] that he did not only like it himself but, to his knowledge, it was mightily esteemed by most in the university. I talked with another good judge, too, who could not forbear making severe reflections upon the understanding, learning, etc. of the p—, and could not believe two of them read it through. In short, sir, I can assure you that all persons, as well those that knew ye not as those that did, were much concerned for ye; especially since your first misfortune was so fresh in memory.'—etc. Feb. 9th 1692-3.

I received a letter, the same post, from Oxford; but the book never came there.

FEBRUARY 11th. A gentleman told me some of the members of the house said they were highly pleased with my ingenuity, when I appeared before them. This, in the meane time, enraged my enemies the more against me; they desiring nothing more than to run me down without being understood; for they well knew the case would not bear a canvassing in that house.

12th. This day I was told that the author of the book I suffered for was a clergyman of good learning and reputation; but I was not told his name; nor do I desire to know it. Mr. Bently had forgot the hand, and ascribed it wrongly to Mr. Charles Blunt.^b

The whig party, tory, and Jacobite all joyned against the king, as one man, to force him to take a party; so that no man, but his servants, stuck to him. In the house all joyned against me, and, finding the mistake, against the bishop of Salisbury, to revenge my cause; and, after that, in the bill for triennial elections and annual parliaments, though as contrary to the true interest of the commons as to the prerogative of the crown; the parties being all weary of the king's way of balancing himself between them.

There are in the folio collection many things that will give further lights to these things; which are only hints of what is now fresh in memory.

14th. I waited on the earl of Nottingham and surrendered into his hands my *commission*, which he took; and said he was sorry he had so many enemies. I assured him I had served him with the utmost industry, fidelity, and prudence I could. He said he believed it, but he could not help the vote of the commons. I said I believed

^b This testimony of a nameless informant, about a nameless clergyman, is scarcely sufficient to overturn the opinion which has hitherto prevailed respecting the authorship of the book. See above, p. 108.

the book to be very good and for the publick service. He said, 'You see what they have done to bishop Burnet.' I shewed him an account of the money I had received, and that I was money out of purse, besides my labour for five months. He said he would take care to reimburse me. So I proposed something for the future; which he said he would consider of. *Cetera fidei memorie.*

Perhaps never any other man, in the same time, was so universally acquitted as I am; they that did it, and they that suffered it to be done excusing the thing as hard, but not to be helped, for the present; and what it will be for the future is known to none but God, at least not to me yet.

In May following, I waited upon my master for the money promised me as above; but I got not one farthing of it. Soon after that, Mr. Trenchard¹ was put in secretary with my master; and in October following my master was turned out of the secretary's place, and Mr. Trenchard enjoyed it alone. And Mr. Herne,² finding one Cook,³ of the Temple, put in licenser with him, about Michaelmass threw it up; and it was given to one Poplar,⁴ who would have been my reader.

¹Anthony Wood's account of Trenchard is, in substance, that he was born of puritanical parents, about 1650; became a barrister, 'busy to promote Oates his plot, busie against papists, the prerogative, and all that way; parliament man for Taunton, 1680; eager for disinheriting the duke of York; concerned in Monmouth's rebellion; forward in promoting the designs of the prince of Orange; sworn sergeant at law 2nd May 1689, and made chief justice of Chester; knighted at Whitehall 29th October 1689; sworn secretary of state 1693; a man of turbulent spirit, never contented.' He died 27th April 1695. *Ath. Oxon.* ed. Bliss, iv, 406.

²Mr. Heron. Our fifth licenser was this gentleman. He had a comely mien; an air of pleasantness in his countenance. He was furnished with a large stock of learning, and a great master of his temper. . . . A becoming modesty and conduct appeared in the first stages of his life, and continue, like a guardian angel, to attend him to this day. So that his life shines in every part, both private and public; and though he continued licenser but a few months yet he left his place with a great deal of honour, and never justly displeased any man.' Dunton, 'Life and errors,' p. 268. That writer places Heron, as licenser, before Mr. Bohun.

³Edward Cook esq. Dunton says, 'he was no bigot to any party, was a good lawyer and furnished with a large stock of wit and moderation; and was a licenser generally loved and respected by all men. . . . His character was unblemished; his virtue too bright to be soiled by the lightlives; and his carriage was very sweet and obliging; so that the natural kindness and serenity of his mind gave him the hearts of all the booksellers.' He procured for Dunton the queen's license for the sole printing of 'The history of the edict of Nantes.' 'Life and errors,' pp. 153, 267.

⁴Mr. D. Poplar. Dunton represents him as deserving the same eulogium with which he concludes his account of Dr. Midgley: see next page. 'Life and errors,' p. 267.

Some hints concerning the manner how this thing was brought about.

When I came first to town I found the whig party in the greatest consternation that was possible, at my being put in that place, knowing I would not suffer those things my predecessor had.

His name was Frasier, a Scot by birth, and a poore broker of books by profession; which he was trusted with by the booksellers, and carried in a satchel to the chambers of the nobility, and there sold them, and paid the money for them to the stationers, and lived by the profit. The booksellers also trusted him sometimes with 2 or 300*l*. to buy books for them in Paris; both which I had from credible persons. This begat him a large acquaintance in the great families, and procured him to be sent to the queen to acquaint her the late king had left the nation; for which piece of service he had the licenser's place, without any salary.

Being thus got in, he licensed all that came to hand on all sides but the Jacobite; so that we had swarms of the worst books written in the rebellion of 1640, reprinted with authority;^m the monarchy run down and vilified; all government made to be the gift of the people and subject to them; the divine right of government ridiculed and bantered every day; and the last two, or indeed the last four, kings made odious and infamous; the doctrine of non-resistance made odious and intemperate; and, in short, loyalty to the crown, the asserting the legal lineal succession and the just prerogatives of the king, were crimes that went near the deserving a pillory; and he that stood up for them was forthwith 'a Jacobite.' At first he licensed books on both sides; but, being once settled, he rejected the loyal papers and would suffer little or nothing to pass on that side, except the party were too big to be contested; so that we were forced to have recourse to the secretary or Midgley,ⁿ to get those papers printed. This I know upon my owne experience. By this usage many of the Jacobites, and some that had taken the oath, became exasperated against the government, and their majesties' title and interest in the nation was made cheap, if not odious

^m In Mr. Bohun's judgment unlicensed printing and the power of a whig licenser were productive of similarly bad fruits. In his 'Address to the freemen,' pt. i, he complains that the act for 'regulating printers,' 14 Car. II, cap. xxxiii, having expired, 'many of the worst books that were printed in the late rebellion' were 'reprinted as new books.' p. 19.

ⁿ Dr. Midgley. He was a contemporary licenser with Mr. Frasier, and had his deputation from the bishop of London. His humour was constantly kind and agreeable, his aspect cheerful and strangely obliging. . . . He was a good physician; and very high for the church; yet, to do Dr. Midgley justice, censoriousness and speaking unhandsonely of persons, or believing easily any ill reports of those that dissented from him, were vices his soul abhorred. In a word, he was a man of singular modesty; and, living a pious life, when he lay on his death-bed, he expressed no concern to live, nor fear to die; he kept nothing in reserve for his last hours; and, being ripe for death, could not be surprised.' Denton, 'Life and errors,' p. 267.

The whig party knew I was of another kidney; and as the clergy and loyall party rejoiced, so the other frowned. Mr. Chiswell^a and Mr. Duntou,^b two book-sellers, acquainted me with their discontents, and how alarmed they were at it. For my part I gave them good words and kind usage; dispatching quickly and easily their business, and suffering nothing to pass that might exasperate any party; but still stood my ground.

There was, soon after, a scandalous paper printed to defame Sir Thomas Rawlinson, who stood for alderman of Aldersgate ward, and another against Sir Jonathan Raymond and Sir Peter Daniel, who stood for the lord mayor's office; and I licensed a modest, short paper in defence of these gentlemen; at which the party railed indely and threatened loudly,^c which I despised till I was admonished by a great man to take heed I did not provoke them, because perhaps my master could not protect me. And after this I was told the whole party had resolved to out me, cost what it would; which I as little regarded, resolving to do my duty and to trust God with the event.

The act was to expire with this session of parliament, and that it might meet no opposition I treated all men with great facility, or rather flattery, taking for the most part what they would freely give, and reading day and night to oblige them; but still they murmured when I corrected anything that reflected on the church, monarchy, or government, and often printed their books before they brought them to me, to prevent correction, which I was forced to heare, to appease their exasperated minds against me.

In the beginning of the session two lies got vent. 1. That I was a Jacobite; which, being founded on the second edition of my 'Geographical dictionary,' I as easily answered in the letter before my 'Charges.' 2. That I had never taken the oath; to

^a Richard Chiswell. Duntou speaks of him as an 'eminent bookseller and truly honest man,' who had 'printed so many excellent books' as would 'perpetuate his name to the end of time.' 'His name at the bottom of a title page does sufficiently recommend the book.' 'Life and errors,' pp. 204, 606.

^b The ingenious but eccentric John Duntou, of whose 'undisguised and desultory narrative' free use has been made in some of the previous notes. He was born at Grafton in Huntingdonshire, 1659, and died in 1733. His 'Life and errors' first appeared in print in 1705; and a 'brief analysis of his life' will be found prefixed by Mr. Nichols to the edition cited above, which comprises also some of Duntou's other works, and was published in 1818, 2 vols. 8vo.

^c Among the charges brought against Mr. Bohm by the author of his 'Character,' we have the following: 'It being, without doubt, in his opinion, a matter of state that Sir Jonathan Raymond should be lord mayor of London, he, very pragmatically, interposed in the civil government of the city; and, to promote Sir Jonathan's election, licensed a pamphlet called A list of the names of the aldermen that will be put in nomination for lord mayor. This was stamped, 26th Sept. 1692. Licensed, Edmund Bohm, and industriously spread about the city, as carrying a badge of authority with it, when, at the same time, Bohm himself, in person, went about, as if he had been a magistrate of the city, to solicit against and obstruct the election of that well deserving magistrate, Sir John Fleet, now happily lord mayor.' p. 24.

this government, for which our knights were quoted; but they denied it. These two I heard of before I was prosecuted.

Underhand they raised a report that I was, at first, a tub preacher; (2) an enemy to the government in the church; (3) L'Estrange's amanuensis, or a hackney writer under him; a beggar; and a man of no reputation. These were whispered so secretly in the house that I heard nothing of them till the blow was given. Great part of the members for Suffolk, Norfolk, and Essex were of their party; and those I might have relied upon were sick and out of town. So that my enemies zealously defaming me, and nobody opposing them in it, I was generally thought an ill man, in both houses, before the book was published they took the advantage of, and yet I did not know it.

This was slow work; and, to defame me to the whole nation, they drew a virulent 'Character' of me, which, I believe, was spread amongst the members before it was published, and got ready to be published to the world so soon as ever I was voted out. These were the steps I at present remember, by which they procured my ruine, and the true reasons of it.

Thus they have, by printed libells, defamed all those they have designed to exclude or throw out of any employment. And because they could not safely do this to others if I continued in this post, they have made use of the same engine to blow me up. And they are now struggling for unlicensed printing, or the liberty of the press, and if they gain that, or a man for their purpose in my post, they will so far exasperate the nation that a civil war, a commonwealth, or an absolute monarchy will follow. For, the present government will, in a short time, become impracticable, when the fear of the French war is once ended. And, because they fear the king will in the mean time grow too strong for them, they are preparing him for ruine during the time of his distress, and intimidating the friends and servants of the monarchy. I have, however, the honour to be the first they have attacked in parliament in this reign; but, if it succeeds to their wish, I shall not be the last.

What his majesty will do in this case, time must show. But I fancy the thing will awaken him, and shew him his danger; and then it will not be hard to avoid it and turn the mischief they intend upon their own heads.

MAR. 22^d. I had notice the licenser's place was disposed of to one Major Herne.

6th. Mr. Herne, my successor in the said office, came to see me; and I find him a man of learning and parts; bred a lawyer; designed a clerk under Sir Leoline Jenkins; continued in the court ten years, but got nothing; took a commission under

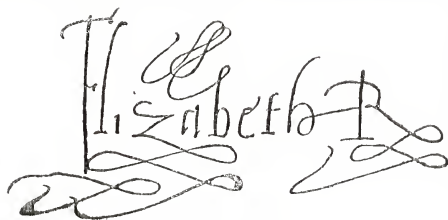
*The writer of Bohun's 'Character,' who does not hazard the singularly incredible charge of tub-preaching, says, Mr. Bohun and Sir Roger 'are cronies, and, 'tis well known, have acted by concert.'

king James in the army, and passed over to the prince of Orange; was made a major of dragoons; the regiment being disbanded, was recommended by the king for an office in the custom house, and baffled by the commissioners; lay by and got nothing, till my misfortunes made them think of him; and so he was recommended to the king and the earl of Nottingham by Shadrach Vincent, a parliament man, and the bishop of Norwich, who led me on, all the while, with the hopes of a restitution; is already kicked at by the whig party, as I was, and particularly by Arnold, who moved to have me continued, after I had been in custody nine days.

MARCH 8th. I waited upon Dr. Stanly, chaplain in ordinary to the queen,* to desire him to introduce me to her majesty, to present the 'Character of queen Elizabeth,'[†]

* William Stanley D.D. dean of St. Asaph and canon residentiary of St. Paul's.

[†] 'The character of queen Elizabeth; or a full and clear account of her policies and the methods of her government, both in church and state; her virtues and defects; together with the characters of her



principal ministers of state; and the greatest part of the affairs and events that happened in her times: collected and faithfully represented by Edmund Bohun esquire.' Lond. 1693. A frontispiece shows the portraits of 'Elizabeth and Mary, queens of England,' surmounted by the motto '*Torquet quaterque bruto.*' The 'epistle dedicatory,' addressed 'to the king and

queen,' is dated 'Feb. 6th 1692-3.' In the preface the writer mentions that 'the learned Johnston, a scotch physician,' was the principal author he had followed, adding what he found to his purpose in other histories. He does not profess to follow the order of time, nor to tell a 'regular story,' but to supply 'a collection of examples, that others may thereby be instructed what to chuse or avoid, what to commend or blame, what had a good or an ill event.' Among the best histories of the several reigns, Sir William Temple places Camden's Elizabeth, published in 1615, of which Bohun remarks that 'Camden is good in the original, but too short'; and that 'the version of that author is intolerably bad.' He hints at the advantage of a new translation; suggesting that 'our great men' should 'promote the history of their country; and that will make their names famous to posterity. . . I would be contented,' he adds, 'to die when I had finished but one good piece of our story, in such a manner as it should be worth reading. I would serve my country in any honest and brave thing; but history is my beloved study: with it I would, if I had it in my power, grow old and die.' He recommends the compiling 'a good history' of the period from 'the restitution' to the revolution. 'But then, our princes and our great men must encourage it and screen the writer, or it will never be done. . . But

then newly printed, and dedicated to the king and queen; which he promised. I complained of my hard usage in relation to my last sufferings. And he told me one of the parliament men had averred to him not one third of the parliament men were against me, but the rest acted with zeal and passion; and for quiet sake they would not oppose it; and so it passed for the sense of the house. I said I would not have suffered so much shame for any thing. He said it was no shame to me. I said I suffered for the queen's hereditary right to the crown, the doctrine of passive obedience, and the natural allegiance of the subject to the crown: the pretence was *conquest* to make a noyse with, and to raise a cry. He said he knew all this; which was some comfort.

But, the next day, when I discoursed with him of the reasonableness that the king should protect his servants who suffered for him, and shewed the danger of the contrary, he grew out of humour, and I was forced to put an end to the discourse. The book was presented to the queen at dinner; who took it.

That day I had some discourse with Mr. Goldwell,* Burgess for Bury; who assured me he was reproached for procuring my discharge, and that those that had been my enemies in the house continued so still, and were much enraged still against me; whereas others said the whole house were ashamed of it. But it is certain the greater part were so, now they knew the thing and me. But he said I had no friend to speak for me, and I was known to few in the house, and so was run down by the passion of the opposite party, who, as another said, wanted that day some *game*; and I, falling in their way, was worried by accident rather than out of ill will.

Mr. Goldwell told me he had argued with the opposite party, and shewed them that I did it of good intention; that I had found the opinion established by others, and greater men, and that I was only the sufferer of the book, and not the author. To which they replied, only, that it was according to my principles; which, as to the things above said, was true. But I do not found their majesties' title on conquest, but upon her majesty's hereditary title, brought into present possession by the vanquishing

why,' he exclaims in conclusion, 'do I write thus in all the misfortunes that have so lately befallen me? My character has been written with the poison of asps, instead of ink, so that one single *word* in another man's work, otherwise interpreted than either he or I meant it, as is plain by the words that follow and explain it, has been enough to sink me, after my reputation had been sufficiently pierced by the arrows of envy and detraction. But all that I shall say, in my own defence, is, that I hate what I am supposed to be guilty of, as much as any man in the nation; and never suffered, said, or thought the thing in all my life.'

* Henry Goldwell esq. married Frances, daughter and heiress of Thomas Shelley esq. of Tuddennam, near Mildenhall, Suffolk. Mr. Goldwell died in 1693, and was buried at Tuddennam. Page, Supp. Kirby, p. 849

of king James in a just war, and his deserting the kingdom rather than do their majesties and the kingdom justice.

The truth is, the king, being oppressed by a war abroad and a potent faction at home, is, in some sort, for the present, forced to do what perhaps otherwise he would not. This is resented by the loyal party in both the houses; and they have not acted with that vigour they did before, either for him or his friends. Nor is it probable they will for the future, till his majesty be in a condition to act more freely; which will cause a very dreadful convulsion in these kingdoms, hereafter, and, if God is not the more merciful, be the ruine of them. The whig party joining now with the Jacobite party in some things, and the tory party joining with them in others, so that though they are few in number yet being great men and many of them concealed as having taken the oaths, they have means to divide the nation, to make the king odious, if he give up his servants, to the tory party, if he doth not, to the commonwealth party. So that he has a hard game to play, considering the greatness of the taxes and the miserys of the wars. But yet, I believe, the fear of the French king and the hatred of the late king James will keep all quiet till the war ends; and what will follow then is known to God only.

1693.
MAY 25th.

After a small stay in the countrey, I returned to London where I waited upon my master, the earl of Nottingham, and tendered him an account of the money I had received and expended; expecting to have had about £50, then due to me, paid me. But I got nothing but my master's displeasure; so that I was afterwards affronted in the office by the waiters.

NOVEMBER

In the beginning of November, upon the king's return from Flanders, my master, the earl, was turned out of his secretary's office, and the whole conferred upon Mr. Trenchard, who had been secretary with him a part of the summer. So soon as this happened there was another licenser put upon Mr. Henne. So that he threw up the employment before the parliament sat.

1694

When I came down, being greatly disgusted at the usage I had received, I was resolved never to act as a justice of the peace. But, after Sir John Barker went up to London, there being no other left, I was forced to act. So I gave the charges at Christmass, Easter, and Midsummer, and did the most part of the business of the division of Ipswich, till the beginning of August 1694.

AUGUST 3rd

There was an assizes holden at Ipswich,* and a new commission

* The assizes were usually held at Bury St Edmund's. Clarke, Hist. Ipswich, pp. 71-73, 133.

of the peace published in it. Sir R. Bacon,^w Sir J. Playters,^x Sir J. Rouse,^y Sir Thomas Allen,^z barts., Mr. Bacon,^a Mr. Barker,^b Mr. Jenny,^c Mr. Fleetwood,^d one Mr. Bright,^e and several others, were left out; and amongst them I was one, and, which made all men wonder, Sir Robert Kemp bart.^f This made a great noyse, and looked so ill that I endeavoured to have had a meeting of all the gentry to consider what was to be done. But I could not obtaine it, men being divided and enraged the one against the other of all parties. I was also taken off the bench and put upon the grand jury on the *tales*; which I resented greatly, as I had cause. But there was no remedy but patience.

Sir John Barker^g meeting me, the 4th, asked me if I had 'petitioned the judge to be put again into the commission of the peace.' To which I said nothing but, 'What I?' and left him, in a rage.

The party by this time were weary of small game, and now strook at once at the whole tory party in our county. Sir John Barker, Sir Charles Bloyse,^h and Mr. Glenhamⁱ were left in, because they were parliament men; but the brother of the first was turned out, and his brother in law^j; and he should have been so, but for that

^w Sir Robert Bacon, a lineal descendant of the lord keeper Bacon and of Sir Nicholas Bacon of Redgrave the first baronet of England, succeeded to the baronetcy in 1685; sold the Redgrave estate to chief justice Holt; and died in 1701.

^x Sir John Playters, mentioned above, pp. 17, 37, was twice married, but died in 1721, at the age of eighty six, leaving no issue, and was succeeded by his nephew, Sir John, eldest son of Lionel Playters esq. ^y Of Heudham hall.

^z Sir Thomas Allin, only son of the first Sir Thomas Allin of Somerleyton, died in 1696, without issue; when the baronetcy expired.

^a Nicholas Bacon esq. of Shrubland, in Barham, near Ipswich.

^b Mr. Robert Barker.

^c Edmund Jenney esq. of Campsey Ash, who died 17th February 1691-5, was a younger brother of Offley Jenney esq. of Knoddishall.

^d George Fleetwood, of Chediston hall, near Halesworth. See above, p. 46. He died, without issue, in 1696, leaving an only sister, who married Sir John Hartopp, third baronet.

^e William Bright esq. of Bricket, Suffolk, married Sarah, daughter of the honourable Henry North of Laxfield, and died in 1706. ^f See above, p. 86. ^g See above, p. 103.

^h Sir Charles Blois, first baronet, and only surviving son of Sir William Blois knt. was originally of Grandisburgh, from whence, on the decease, in 1693, of his aunt, Mary, the only surviving child of Sir Robert Brooke knt., he removed to Cockfield hall, Yoxford, previously the seat of the Brooke family. This estate, considerably extended and improved, has devolved upon Sir Charles Blois, seventh baronet, who, having served his country with honour in the ever memorable battle of Waterloo, has devoted himself to the unostentatious but not unimportant duties of rural life.

ⁱ Of the family of Glenham of Glenham Parva. See Page, Supp. Kirby, p. 181.

^j Mr. Bacon.

only consideration; and it befitted him to have acted with more discretion than he did. But he has ever expressed a great disregard for me.

Holt, the lord chief justice, who came this circuit alone, was much startled at this thing, and protested he knew nothing of it; and the whole blame was laid upon Sir R. Rich^k and one Mr. Haveringham^l; but without cause; for I am well assured Mr. Whiteacre,^m the recorder of Ipswich, had a hand in it. And I doubt not but others had so, by what I saw, though I cannot charge them particularly. And it is most certain the whole whig party acted by consent, at once, in this affaire. They strook out the most active men, but left the trimmers and those that would not act at all; and put in whiggs of mean estate and education, or gentlemen of little or no spirit. So that the getting the government into their hands was the apparent end of this alteration.

Though Charles the second and James the second did both of them at times favour this faction more than was fit or prudent, yet they still kept the reins in their own hands, and would never suffer them to grow to that height as to be terrible either to the crown or their fellow subjects. But the king that now reignes has put the whole power of the nation, and the riches and authority of it, into their hands; so that they have nothing more to do but to exclude him, and to set up themselves in his place. This proceedes not from any love he beareth to them, or any confidence he hath in them, or they in him; but, being oppressed with the burthen of the war abroad, he thinks it his intrest to purchase the leave of these disloyal men to end it at any rate; and so sacrificeth his loyal subjects to his most di-loyal ones. They, in the mean time, understand this very well, and are ever complayning of the aversion Whitehall has for their persons and principles, and do expect the end of the war will be the end of their power and good days.

Now, in this state of affaires, it is worth the guessing what will be the end of these things. And I say, first, if the king can finish the war to his contentment, he will

^k Sir Robert Rich, mentioned above, p. 55, was one of the lords of the admiralty, and member of parliament, for Dunwich, from 1689 to his death, which occurred 1st October 1699. He is buried, with others of his family, on the south side of the parish church at Beedles.

^l Henry Haveringham esq. member of parliament for Dunwich, 1695, 1698.

^m Charles Whitaker esq. was discharged from his office of recorder, in 1704, and again in 1707. See Clarke, Hist. Ipswich, pp. 72, 73, 75, 76. On a monument in the south aisle of St. Nicholas' church, Ipswich, is the following: 'Hic juxta jacet Carolus Whitaker arm. hujus burgi diu reconditor, in in parlamento Angliæ ter socius regi Gulielmo 3^o cum primis serviens ad legem; Anna regnante, in Australi Walliæ parte capitalis trium comitatuum justitiarius merito constitutus. Obiit xix die Junii an. Dom. mcccxcv. æt. sue lxxiii^r. Vivo adhuc patre, tumuloque patris contermino, humatæ quiescunt reliquæ Caroli Whitaker, Interioris Templi an. locumsec. oppositoris Saccerii, interpestiva morte præcepti cum xxxv annos ad diem complevisset, vii Martii an. Dom. mpcet x.'

then, most certainly, pull down these men faster than he now settles them up; without which he will lose all his royal authority and be reduced into a state of servitude; which in his temper he abhorreth, no man more. If he can once settle his affairs abroad, he will return with an army hardened in the field and made so far acquainted with the war that nothing in England can resist it. And the publick poverty is such that no money can be raised by them to carry on a war, as was done in 1640.

His majesty is better beloved by the lowest part of the people than they are; and the ill things they have done in this reign make them every day more infamous than they were before. And this publick hatred will grow every day.

But if the war end unfortunately for his majesty, then their ruine is most certain. The French king, the late king, the whole world, are their enemies. The certain foresight of this is the only thing that keeps them quiet; and if the king knew their hearts he would never fear them on this account. He may subsist, whatever happeneth; they will be ruined and, as I believe, rooted out of the nation, if we are beaten.

From the rise of this faction to the year 1640 all their attempts were against the church. Against that bastion they made their principal batterys. Since 1660 there has been a sensible change, and all their designs are levelled against the crown, and the pulling down the monarchy; and, except a general toleration, nothing has been done against the other. So a commonwealth is their great project; to which end 'the libertie and propertie of the subject' has been the great cry, the exalting and enlarging the privileges of the parliament, and the making that body terrible to the king and the rest of the people, especially the tory or royall party; in which last they have mistaken their true interest.

There was never any commonwealth arose in a poor, divided, dispeopled kingdom. The Swiss were poor, but united and very populous. The Greeks were very populous and rich in comparison of their neighbours. The Romans were populous and united. The Venetians were rich, united, and populous, when they became a commonwealth. The project in England failed in its birth, and can never be recovered. The money and people spent in that war, and since, by the plague, and the plantations, and in this present war, and in Ireland, have so dispeopled the nation, that it is impossible to raise another war, or set up a commonwealth without one. But the attempt failing once more, will manumise our kings and free them from the lash of parliaments, till we become a province under some potent neighbour prince; which has ever been the fate of all nations exhausted by colonies. The states of Holland were poor in their rise, but defended by the situation of their country and supported by England. The Swiss were secured by their mountains, united at home, and populous; as the Hollanders were also. And it is never to be feared any protestant prince will raise such an hatred against himself as Philip the second, of Spaine, did, so that papist and protestant, poor and rich, united against him.

The whole fabrick of the English government and the temper of the nation is against a commonwealth. So that we cannot subsist under any other government than that of a monarch. And we can have no other princes than their now majesties, king William and queen Mary, and those mentioned in the settlement, except we will forego the whole protestant succession, lose Scotland and all our civil liberties and religion. But yet particular men may be ruined by false and fraudulent pretences, as Jacobites, traitors, and disaffected to the present government, though they are its truest and best friends.

This will, again, promote the plantation of the West Indies, and hasten the catastrophe of England; but it will, at the same time, make the erecting of a commonwealth impossible. So that, upon the whole, I conclude the project is impossible, destructive, and ruinous to them that drive it on and to the nation. God put an end to it.

AUGUST 3RD. The assizes were held at Ipswich, for the county of Suffolk; at which time there appeared a great alteration of the commission of the peace for this county." Sir Robert Bacon, Sir John Rouse, Sir John Playters, Sir Robert Kemp, Sir Thomas Allen, barts.; Nicholas Bacon, Edmund Bohun, George Fleetwood, Edward Alpe,^o Robert Barker, Edmund Coleman,ⁿ and Thomas Wright^a esquires, were all at once left out, being of the most loyal and active men in the county; and, in their places, were put in a greater number of yonge and inexperienced gentlemen, attorneys, and yeomen; men of no great estate or learning. This was promoted by different persons, for most different ends; but principally to pull down the loyal and church of England gentry, and to lift up a party contrary to both the church and the crown.

I was turned out, before, in James the second's time, for my over zealous defence of the church against the popish party; and now, by the republican party, for my adhering to a tottering throne, and opposing the levying two weeks pay to the militia in this year in this town in which I now live.

The accounts of this are more largely entred in the great book and justice books.*

ⁿ The diarist repeats, with some variation, a previous entry; see p. 120.

^o The family of Alpe was seated at Framlingham. Edward Alpe esq. of that place, probably the person mentioned in the diary, was baptized 2nd May 1613, and died 11th July 1715. Loder, Hist. Framlingham, p. 305.

ⁿ The christian name somewhat indistinct in the manuscript. 'Edmund' was a common name with the Colmans of Hacheston, and 'Edward' with the Colmans of Brent Ilkigh.

^a Thomas Wright esq. of Sandy Downham died 10th February 1689, leaving, with others, a son Thomas, afterwards of Harling, Norfolk, and who died 30th December 1735, aged 69.

* See above, p. 79.

* See above, pp. 61, 86.

SEPTEMBER 11th. Mr. Lawrence Eacher¹ informed me that the present bishop of Norwich has frequently reported, this summer, that the king, being waited upon by Dr. Stillington-bishop of Worcester, last spring, said to him that he would build his hope and put his trust in the monarchy or loyall party; and that though, for the present, he was forced to seeme to do otherwise, and to favour the contrary party, yet, in due time, he would shew his esteeme of the loyal party, and reward their services. The bishop asked the king if this were a secret. The king said, 'No; you may tell it to every body.' And the bishop of Worcester spoke this, accordingly, to the bishop of Norwich, and he to very many.

This may be true; but as yet we have not seen the least glimpse of a change of counsells, but quite the contrary; the loyal party being every day more oppressed than before.

In these days I read Mr. Roger Coke's 'Detection of the court and state of England during the four last reignes and the interregnum.'^a Written with great partiality on the side of the populace or republican party, by the procurement of secretary Trenchard, and, as I believe, in part at his charge; though I do not know that, as I do the former, it being begun whilst I was licenser of the press, in 4to, though published now in 8vo.

I observe that Buckingham, the elder, was raised from a poor younger brother to be the greatest subject of Europe, and, by the impoverishment of two kings and three kingdoms, raised the greatest estate that ever was raised, in so short a time, by any subject; being, at the restauration, worth to his son, the last duke, £60,000 the year. And, without doubt, his expences were equall to this, in his life time.

He had nothing to recommend him to the favour of these princes but a beautifull body and a good carriage; but rose to the highest state employments without any experience, discretion, learning, or temper. And he was unfortunate, too, in all he undertook, at home or abroad, in peace or war. So that he was the wonder of that and of all the succeeding times, why he was raised, and how he stood, and for what cause he was so beloved and maintained so long.

¹ See above, p. 92. Besides the historian, there were two persons of this name, either of whom may have communicated the anecdote in the text: the Rev. Lawrence Echard of Yoxford, afterwards of Cranford, Suffolk, whose will was dated 20th November 1694 and proved 20th February 1695; and his second son, the Rev. Lawrence Echard, rector of Henstead, Suffolk, from 1662, who died in 1714, and whose only child, Mary, married Robert Bence esq. the father of Anne, wife of Robert Sparrow esq. of Worlingham.

^a Lond. 1694, 2 vols. 8vo.; Supplement to the first edition, 1696; 1697, 2 vols.; 1719, 3 vols. Lowndes describes this work as 'a sort of secret history, engaging to an englishman, naturally inquisitive, curious, and greedy of scandal.' Perhaps neither this statement nor that of the diarist quite does justice to Coke's racy and amusing volumes.

This great man in power, title, imployment, and estate, but little in understanding, piety, and moral bravery, having stood the shock of many parliaments and the gusts of adverse fortune, at last fell by the hand of one Felton, a poor gentleman, being stabbed to the heart, with a tenpenny cuttle, in the midst of his favorites and followers, at Portsmouth, as he was going on an expedition into France.

He left his son, yonge and very rich, both in the favour of the prince and a plentiful estate; of a great wit and briskness of fancy, but of no judgment, piety, or moral virtue, and insatiably addicted to women; and he, in about thirty years, spent and squandered away this great estate, and died in the reigne of James the second, in 1685 or 86, very poor and contemptible.

Now, what wise man would wish to have this favorite's fortune; to be raised to an envied greatness, above what he could manage; to make his prince and his country unhappy; to engulph himself in numberless sins and guilts, that he could otherwise never have thought of; to perish, at last, without the leisure of one 'Lord have mercy on me'; to amass a vast estate to make his son a debauchee and a cully, the scorn and contempt of all good and wise men, and the property of bawlers, poets, buffoons, whores, pimps, to perish at last, as miserably and more unpitied than the father, in poverty and contempt?

—Thou, Oh Lord, choosdest thy servants more wisely, treatest them more prudently; keepest them low in this world, rewardest them better in the next; and takest care of their childrens' children after them, which princes cannot do.'

1695-6.

JANUARY 16th.

It is now near upon three years, compleat, since I suffered the outrage of the commons of England, only for doing my duty. The sense I have of that wrong is very near the same it was the day I suffered it. The

*These reflexions evidently arose from the perusal of Coke's work. Our diarist might well have taken up his lament at an earlier point of the Buckingham genealogies, and have found striking illustrations of the vanity of earthly honours in the noble house to which his own ancestors could claim alliance. The very melancholy of their story has made it notorious. Humphry Stafford, the first duke, fell at the battle of Northampton in 1460; Henry his grand-son perished on the scaffold in 1483; and every one is familiar with the fate of Edward, the third duke, the victim of Wolsey, suddenly reduced from his high rank to that of 'poor Edward Bohun,' and brought to the block in 1521. The title was revived, in 1623, in favour of George Villiers, the nobleman first mentioned in the diary, the favourite of James the first and Charles the first, and who was assassinated at Portsmouth 23rd August 1628, at the age of thirty six. His son and successor, of the same name, adhered to Charles I and to the fortunes of the exiled monarch during the rebellion. At the restoration he regained his estates; but, after wasting his property by extravagances, died in a poor cottage in Yorkshire in 1687; when the title once more became extinct. He was the author of the tract in favour of toleration, mentioned above, p. 69. John Felton, by whom the duke of Buckingham was murdered, is said to have been 'of a good family in Suffolk.'

patience and long sufferance of our good God is wonderfull, who can punish the insolence of tyrants and ill men when he please, yet bears with them many years. He waited for the repentance of the Jewes thirty six years, before he brought the deserved vengeance they had imprecated on themselves and children at the crucifixion of our Saviour; yet it came at last. It is almost fifty years since the blood of Charles the first was shed, in this very month, by this very party. Yet they have hitherto, in all the changes that have hapned, escaped, and the descendants of that holy prince have thought it a good markett to sell the remembrance of his blood for a little respite.

Yet, after all, the time will come when that blood shall be required; and the sooner because they still go on in the ill principles that occasioned that murder, and persecute all those that will not joyne with them in those ill principles and worse practices.

Wonderfull it is, that, in the memory of man, this party should be able three times to bring the nation to the brinke of ruine, and that the children and grand children of that holy prince should so far forget his sufferings and their own safety as to countenance the worst of men as well as subjects. Charles the second, in 1660, had them all under his feet, and the nation so far incensed against them that, if he had but left them to their destiny, the publick hatred would have plumed them to the bones; and the rewarding his suffering, loyall servants with all the publick employments would have for ever kept these traitors under. But then all was sold to them for money; and, that they might not despond, pensions were, underhand, paid them, when those that had spent their estates in his and his father's service starved in his court. 2. Severall tolerations he gave them, so that in 1680 he was within a haire's breadth of perishing by this faction.

James the second missed narrowly of being excluded from the succession. He was scarce warmly seated on his throne before they brought in the duke of Monmouth to depose him; and he shed their blood, most plentifully, by way of retaliation. But when he found the church of England loyalty had bounds, and that the religion and civil liberties of the nation and the hereditary succession to the crown would not be given up to his will, in his resentment he turned to these enraged enemies of his family, and they perfidiously promised him whatsoever he asked, till they had fixed their measures with the Prince of Orange; and then they effectually made him to feele the ill consequences of weak councils.

King William that now reignes was invited into England by them, not out of choice but pure necessity. Monmouth was dead; his children too yong and out of their power; the nation so overawed by an army that no attempt could have been made at home but it would have miscarried. So meere necessity threw them into the arms of the Prince of Orange, who had in his bed the next protestant heire to the crown of England and could command all the forces in Holland to back his quarrel.

To this country all the debris of two rebellions were fled, and here they held a close correspondence with those of their party he had most wisely taken into his bosom. So all his counsels were betrayed, his designs wharted, his subjects exasperated against him, and he so far lulled asleep that if the French ambassador had not shewen him his danger he had been surprized without any previous notice of the intended invasion. And that which he had, served only to hasten his destruction and to render his fall the less pittied.

James the second was a passionate and a willfull prince. There needed no more than to engage him in a business, and he would go on as far as he could, let the consequence be what it would. This the Jesuits knew; and their great care was to ingage him in a quarrel with the church of England; and they thought the whigs would have been their scaffolds to pull down the church of England; and then lett them alone to deal with these in their turn at leisure. But here was the fatal folly of this prince, that he should never consider the whigs in England and those that were fled into Holland were one party and his most mortal enemies. They gave out large indications how little they relied upon his faith. None came over to him that were abroad; but many went hence to Holland. Monmouth was reported to be still alive; and the pillory could not stop this impudent lye. Yet, as if all had been infallible veracity between them and him, on he went in the intrigue, till the newse of the Holland invasion roused him. And then warme addresses were made to the church loyalty and English valor. But no justice, no recompense was to be made: we were still to believe as before and to forget all that was passed, and so trudge on to the slaughter house without inquiring whither we were going.

It is wonderfull that men could be so stupid as to believe the whiggs' pretenses, and when that failed could yet hope a few good words would atone for all the breach of faith with the church party. The English loyalty had, it's true, done and suffered too much in the former reignes, but was the less to be built upon now, because humane patience has its boundes; and king James was resolved to try ours to the utmost; and so he did, and took what he expected would follow.

The king that now reignes came in by this party, and not only obtained the first possession but the continuance of the crown for his life from them. His right was founded upon the queen's, as he set forth in his Declaration against king James, and, being matrimonial, was to end with her life. Here this party plaidd their first prize. The throne was to be declared 'vacant,' that they might pretend to elect him for his life with, but before, the queen, and to reigne after her if she should happen to die before him, as by the divine disposal it happened.

This reigne was begun with a dreadful foreign war, which has cost the nation six millions every year since, and perhaps as much more lost at sea, one year with another.

And now who can blame a prince that came in by these men, that reignes by their

arts, that is to spend so much of their blood and treasures, and to see so much more ravished from us by the French, if, after all, he makes one oblation of all the loyal party in the nation to them? Assuredly we are not to complaine or wonder he doth that by us king James would have done if he had prevailed and, if we had not flattered ourselves too, too far, what we ought to have expected from the first. All kingdoms are preserved by the same means they were gotten. King William the third is as wise as William the first, though not so open now, because never well settled.

1696

In August 1696, I was told by one of my servants that one Nathaniel Thurston, of Stoke Park,* wanted a farne. Whereupon I entred into a treaty with him; and at Michaelmass following he came into Dale hall and I removed into St. Mary Elms in Ipswich. This sudden change was made necessary by the badness of the money, which had reduced me to insuperable wants, the perfidy of my servants, the reducing my family to a small number: Edmund,† the eldest, being gone to America as a merchant; Francis,‡ the second, to the reduction of Hudson's bay, in which expedition he died in his return home; Dorothea my only daughter being married against my will; so that I had none with me but Nich. who was then at sea in a Newcastle voyage, and William,§ my yongest, my sister Blome a poor sick widdow, and one Thomas Eastling, my half sister's son, whom I have taken to bring up as my own.

* Captain Nathaniel Thurston bequeathed £100, in 1724, to be laid out in bread for the poor of St. Mary Stoke, to be distributed weekly. Clarke, Hist. Ipswich, p. 268.

† He afterwards settled at Westhall hall. Under his will, dated 8th February 1731, quoted above, p. 91, the Westhall manor and estates passed to his youngest brother, William Bohun of Beccles, M. D. for life, with remainder to his issue in tail male. The testator and Hannah his wife are buried in what is now the south aisle of Westhall church; the stone which covers their grave bearing the arms of Bohun impaling Warren, and the following legend. 'Here lieth the body of Ednaund Bohun esq. who departed this life October the 13th 1731. Here also lieth the body of Hannah the wife of Ednaund Bohun esq. who departed this life December 31st, 1731.' This, with two exceptions, namely, the mural brass, noticed elsewhere, and the humble memorial of an infant, is the only remaining inscription in Westhall church relating to the Bohun family.

‡ 'Franciscus Bohun moritur mense Octobris 1696, et sepultus est maris vergivio, dum rediit a reductione arcis in Sinu de Hudson in America septentrionali.' Westhall parish register.

§ Dr. William Bohun: buried in Beccles church, beneath a stone on which Bohun impales Rabet. His only son, William Bohun, the last of his family, at least in England, studied at Cambridge, where he proceeded A. M. 1759. In 1766 and the following year he travelled in company with Sir John Blois, bart. In December 1766, we find them 'hunting with the king,' and invited by Lady Rochford to Versailles, to witness the ceremony of her introduction to the royal family; dining with the ambassador and his friends, including the duke of Northumberland, lord Carlisle, and other english and

[TRANSLATION.]

1697.
April 14th

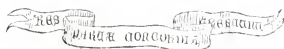
I received the holy communion on Easter sunday in the Tower church of Ipswich. This I have not done before, for many months past, the severity of the winter and many other hindrances having kept me at home.

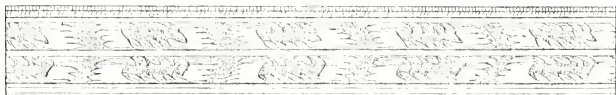
[ORIGINAL.]

Quarto die Aprilis 1697. Sacram synavin accepi die dominica resurrectionis, in ecclesia de Turri de Gippovico. Hoc non prius feci multis men-sibus præteritis, severitate hiemis multisque aliis impedi-mentis me domi retinuitibus.

french nobles, and 'waited upon by gentlemen of the court with their hats on and swords by their sides.' Having visited Turin, Milan, Genoa, Leghorn, Pisa, Lucca, Florence, and Sienna, the travellers proceeded to Rome, where they spent their mornings in seeing its antiquities, and their evenings at 'the conversaziones of cardinals, princes, and noble Romans.' In 1770, during a visit to Sir Thomas Tancred at Hollin's Close, near Ripon, we meet with Mr. Bohun mingling in the fashionable amusements at York. Another glimpse is obtained of him, and with him of another Suffolk family, in a letter, written from Florence, 17th March 1772, by his intimate friend Chaloner Meddeckne esq. who, though 'surrounded by luxuries and within a short distance of the most remarkable remains of ancient glory in the world,' was lamenting that he had no place in England 'wherein to lay his head,' and pursuing inquiries which led him ultimately to settle at Hacheston, near Wickham Market, and to erect the mansion called Glevoring hall.

Mr. William Bohun died single, at Beccles, in 1780, at the age of forty five. Twenty years earlier, he had barred the entail of the Westhall estates; and, by his will dated 14th June 1760, he devised his real property to his only sister Prudence Bohun, for her life, with remainders which failed of effect on her decease, in 1762, without issue; in which event the estates were to pass to the testator's brother of the half blood, Le Grice Browne of Beccles, gentleman, in fee simple; the testator renewing an injunction contained in the wills of his father and his uncle Edmund Bohun that the possessor of the estate should assume the name of Bohun. For this purpose Mr. Browne obtained the royal license in March 1787. He married, in 1758, Elizabeth, daughter of John Price esq. of Beccles, a descendant in the male line, from Sir Richard Price bart. of Goggerdam, and, on the female side, from Sir Walter Raleigh. Mr. Le Grice Browne-Bohun died in December 1806. The Westhall property was settled upon his eldest son the Rev. John Francis Browne-Bohun and his family. They, many years ago, parted with the manor to the late Alexander Adair esq. In 1831, the hall and landed estate were sold to major Peter Foster, of Ditchingham, who died in 1816; since which event his widow, a daughter of the Rev. John Francis Browne-Bohun, has been in possession of the property.





CORRESPONDENCE.

MR. BOHUN TO MR. JOHN CARY.*

Ipswich, January 2nd, 1695-6.

Sir,

I shall ever remember what severe contests you and I had the last summer, when we happened to converse a short time together, about government: but, as little as we agreed in that, I must do you the right to acknowledge that your book of Trade is by far the best I have ever read; and written with so disinterested an aire that no man can possibly tell where your trade lyes by it, a fault common to all the rest that have written on that subject, being merchants. It may be acknowledged gentlemen and scholars at large are not so well qualified to write upon this subject as merchants are; but then they ought to prefer the generall good of the nation to that of any one particular company or set of merchants. If they do otherwise the gentry and nobility will soon find the weak side, and scent and detest their partiality. It may possibly

* This and the five following letters are derived from ADD. MS. in the British Museum, 5540, fo. 55.

Mr. John Cary was an eminent merchant at Bristol. His judgment and knowledge of trade having induced some gentlemen to desire his opinions on that subject, he printed a few copies of the tract to which the above letter refers, intituled 'An essay towards regulating the trade and employing the poor of the kingdom.' In 1696 he presented to parliament 'An essay towards settling a national credit,' designed to show that the advantages of a national bank should be extended to the whole kingdom. He was desired by the government, in 1704, to state his views as to the encouragement of the linen manufacture of Ireland; on which subject he also printed a tract. Mr. Cary published a second and enlarged edition of his discourse on trade, which he dedicated to the house of commons. He did not very long alter; but in 1715 the book was again printed 'for universal benefit.'

seem very strange I should send this so very far to shew you my approbation; but I am sure you will not suspect it for a piece of flattery, having so often found me not of that temper, in a case that was more my intrest than this can ever be that of,

Sir,

Your humble servant,

These for Mr. John Cary, merchant,
at his house in Bristol.

EDMUND BOHUN.^b

MR. BOHUN TO MR. CARY.

Ipswich, January 18th, 1695-6.

Sir,

If you think that the printing any part of my letter with your book of Trade will tend to the spreading or recommending of it, you may use it as your own, freely; though, being written in a kind of fear that you would not take it well, it was made short and more rough than it would otherwise have been.

I have not the book by me, and therefore you may be pleased to pardon what followes, if I happen to mistake your notion, when I write from my memory upon a first reading. You seeme to be desirous the woollen manufactories of Ireland should be discouraged, and their wools brought into England to be wrought. Herein your partiality for England has misled you: though I will grant that it is our intrest to take all imaginable care that what is not wrought in Ireland should be brought hither and not transported to France or to Holland.

^b MR. CARY TO MR. BOHUN.

Bristol, January 11th, 1695-6.

Sir, I have the favour of yours, 2nd instant. Am glad the writing my Essay on trade hath given a fresh occasion of renewing our acquaintance. Your conversation had always a great esteem with me, though in some things we did not agree. I am sure whoever enjoys it must improve himself. I am sorry my share thereof was so short. I thank you for the esteem you put on my booke. The test you give is, without controversy, the best touchstone to try any discourse on trade; it being the misfortune of men of our profession to shew our weakness by our partiality, when we handle subjects of that nature. Whether it will answer the character you give of it, I must (as is the fate of all writers) submit to the judgment of the reader. I am glad I have the opinion of a person to whose judgment all who know him will subscribe; which carries with it a satisfaction for the pains I have taken; and if I make so bold with you to publish that part of your letter with a second edition, I assure myself it will add a lustre to my booke, and recommend it to the reading of all ingenious men. You know my temper is not to flatter: you have found it so at other times, therefore need not doubt it now.

I am, with due respect, Sir, your unfeigned, humble servant, *John Cary*.
To Edmund Bohun esq.

The trade of the world is now very great, but capable to be made much greater; so much greater, that not only England, Scotland, and Ireland may drive all they can without envying each other, being three sisters under one common father, but Holland, Sweden, Denmark, the Hanse towns, France, Spaine, Italy, and Russia may enlarge their trades *prope ad infinitum*, without any damage to each other, if the monopolizing humour, envy, and an insatiable avarice supported by fraude and violence, did not mislead them. To make this seeming paradox plain, I desire you would go back with me to the ancient times, and observe the rise and progress of trade, and how it has spread from Tyre and Sidon to the east and west Indies, and the discovery of the south continent, though no trade is yet driven there.

Tyre, Sidon, and Gaza were the first traders by sea; and a voyage to Tarsus in Cilicia was then equall to an east India voyage. They enjoyed this priviledge to the times of Alexander the great, but much impaired by the sacking all these ancient towns by the Babylonians, Medes, and Persians. In these ancient times the navigation on the Red sea was begun by the procurement of Solomon, though managed by Tyrian ship-carpenters and saylors, and never intermitted to this day.

Carthage, a Tyrian colony, Rhodes, and Greece, and Egypt took up the trade and navigation about the times of the Grecian monarchy, and spread them westward as far as Britan and the Canary islands; and there it ended. The Romans came next upon the stage, and made all very plaine to the north west, but lost the knowledge of the south western discoveries.

About the year of Christ 400, the barbarous northern nations broke in and tore up the Roman empire in the west by the roots; and all trade and navigation here ceased for about four hundred years.

The ravages of the Saracens in the Mediterranean sea during these times forced the Venetians, Pisians, and Genovese to arm and fight by sea; and the holy war having put a final period to that eastern *orage*, trade and riches followed, till these three cities ruined each other by their mutual wars and envy. The like ravages made on the north western coasts, by the Danes and Normans, occasioned Charles the great, Alfred of England, the princes in Flanders, etc. to build fleets for their own defense, and to encourage towns and cities upon the sea and great navigable rivers, to build vessels to fish in times of peace, and to fight in times of war. Thence followed the trades of the Hanse towns, Cinque ports, etc. which spread northward as far as Dronthime, Iceland, and the whole Baltick sea, parts unknown to the Greeks and Romans, and much more to the Tyrians and Sidonians.

The Portuguese, having no more any work to do against the Moors in Spaine, followed them into Africa, and by degrees opened the way to the east Indies. The Spaniards did the like to America. The English discovered the North Cape and, by the Dwina and Wolga, ran up to Persia and met the Portuguese who went by the

South cape. By the north cape, Magellan, Drake, Cavendish, Vander Noot pushed on the project, ran round the globe, and thought they had now found all the secrets of the habitable world. But alas, the folly and weakness of man! The Terra di Jassi in the north east, the Terra Incognita in the south, the vast countrey between Nova Zembla and the Corea, to the north of China, are still unknown, and yet capable of discovery; and vast trades might be driven in them.

But to come back. Read but Thucydides of the ancient state of Greece whilst the trade was in the hands of the Tyrians, Polybius his account of Spain, Pliny's account of Italy, Cesar's of Gaule and Britan, Tacitus' of Germany, Saxo Grammaticus of Denmark, etc. and you will see what naked, barbarous people inhabited these countries till they were civilized and taught manufactures, the art of war, navigation and commerce by the Tyrians, Carthagenians, Greeks, and Romans. The south parts of Africa, beyond mount Atlas, were first discovered by the Arabian caravans about the year 1200, and then much more barbarous than now they are. What trades might, in time, be driven here, in South America, round about Hudson's bay in North America, which are well known!

In short, to suppose the trade of the world can be driven by any one nation, how great soever, is a very great piece of ignorance. All monopolies, restraints of trade to companies exclusive of all others, are narrow thoughts that spring up in narrow souls, and contradict the great designe of God almighty, which is to civilize the whole race of mankind, to spread trade, commerce, arts, manufactures, and by them christianity from pole to pole round the whole globe of the earth. And therefore I am sure God will blast all those designs that are contrary to his, and ruine those nations and companys that would ingross his blessings and joine with the devil to prevent or at least retard the civilizing the rest.

Cicero, in his epistles to Atticus, lib. 4, ep. xv, giving an account of Cesar's first invasion of our country, has this expression: '*Britannici belli exitus expectatur*' etc. 'The event of the British expedition is impatiently expected here. The approaches of the island were fortified with wonderful bulwarks: and it is now known that there was not one dram of gold in the country; nor any hope of any other prey except a parcel of contemptible slaves; for I suppose you do not think any of them are acquainted with letters or musick.' Thus he. Cesar tells us their towns were only woods secured by trees cut down and piled one upon another, the most of the people naked, all over painted and pinked in various formes. Their kings and queens wore only a leather jackett without any covering to the head or feet. The south parts had been discovered

^c 'Constat enim aditus insule esse nudis nudicis molibus. Etiam illud jam cognitum est, neque argenti scrupulum esse ullum in illa insula, neque ullam speciem prædiæ, nisi ex marcipiis; ex quibus nullos puto te literis aut musicis eruditos expectare.'

to some few neighbour merchants. The rest was wholly unknown, and Cicero's bullwarks, his '*moles mirificæ*,' were mere imaginations.

Thus might we have continued to this day if God had not sent the Romans to civilize us; and by the same means may all America be civilized too; and then here will be trade enough for England, Scotland, and Ireland at least, if not for all Europe. The Russ, within two hundred years, wore only sheepskins and other furs like the Samoicas. Now, the meanest wear cloath of one sort or another; the better sorts silks, velvetts, brocard; and a vast trade is driven where before none was ever dreamed of.

To make an end of this tedious letter, I think a good history of the rise and progress of trade would be a thing of great [use] and instruct men in a multitude of particulars that are not known or not well considered. And here I have given you a short view of the severall ages which, like an embrio, seemes a confused lump now, but if unfolded and drawn at large would have its beauties as well as uses which are not conceivable now.

In a short time I shall be in London againe, for all the next summer. If I can serve you in this or any other thing, Mr. Hodges, your correspondent, will be able to direct you where to find me, because I see him very frequently; and it was he that put your book into my hand.

You may be pleased to pardon this tedious letter, and the rather because you will scarce ever find me guilty of such another offense. However, this is left to your discretion by, sir,

Your friend and servant,

EDMUND BOHUN.^d

These for Mr. John Cary,
merchant, Bristol.

^d MR. CARY TO MR. BOHUN.

London, January 31st, 1695-6.

Worthy Sir, I have the favour of yours, 18th instant, since I came to this city. Your account of the originall of trade is very excellent, and your opinion against monopoly extraordinary. But whether this will hold as to the trade of Ireland seemes to me very doubtfull. Please to note that all plantations settled abroad out of our own people must needs be a loss to this kingdome, except they are employed there to serve its interest. Nor do they answer the ends of their first settlement, which were rather to provide materials for the increasing our trade at home, and keeping our people at work here, than by those conduits let it slide away. This is as opening a vein in man's body, and letting him bleed to death; which might be of good use to his health if no more blood were taken from him than he could well spare. The health of the commonwealth is to be preferred before that of any part, when it sets up a distinct interest alone, as the security of a government before that of a private person when he endeavours to overthrow it; and therefore our laws are severe against such, and yet serve to promote the happiness of our constitution, by calling him to justice that opposes it: first and fundamentall design.

The career of trade is no way lessened by preventing it: being driven from Ireland, since the same persons may doe it here if they please; but the design of sparing our people to settle Ireland is no way

MR. BOHUN TO MR. CARY.

Ipswich, February 15th, 1695-6.

Sir,

I need not enter into a controversy with you about the manufactures of Ireland. They are all settled there; and it is not in the power of the English nation to suppress them. They have ships and an equal freedom of trade with the English everywhere, except the east Indies, Turkey, Africa, and our plantations; where yet they have a share. There is one reason to continue this to them, viz. that they will never stay in Ireland if it be denied them (I mean the English there) and if they leave Ireland it will be lost from us, because the natives and old planted popish English hate us most mortally.

The principal cause of plantations, or colonies, abroad, has ever been, too great a number of people; which was our case in the end of queen Elizabeth's reign and under James and Charles the first, till war, plague, and plantations wasted our people. The history of colonies begins at the tower of Babel, and that which you mention was never the design of any of them. Those from Palestine were driven out by Joshua and the children of Israel, as appears by an Hebrew inscription extant in Africa in Justinian's time. They peopled all the coasts of the Mediterranean sea, and passed without the streights to cape Verde and Britan; and filled Greece so full of inhabitants that it regurgitated too. Their principal colony was Carthage, which was very ancient, and flourished most before the Trojan war. Tyre was the mother of this potent city, and had much respect paid to her till Carthage was destroyed by the Romans, but no sovereignty over her; and Carthage was in all respects, as free if not more free than Tyre, the mother city. All these colonies traded with one another and with their capitall cities, without any restraint.

answered, if the inhabitants instead of raising product, follow manufactures and trade, drain England of more people than it can conveniently spare, and advance in the one no faster than they do in the other; I mean if they increase in husbandry no more than they have manufacturers or merchants settled amongst them to export or work up the product. I will not repeat the obligations laid on Ireland above our other plantations. The charge of its reduction twice in forty years is not a small article; but if we consider that they are all of them defended and secured at the expence of England, who alone bears the charge of wars and revolutions, certainly at least the same respect is due from it as from a tenant to his landlord, who pays him a peppercorn in acknowledgement. We only desire, for its full value, to have the product they raise. This the Spaniards, Portuguese, French, Venetians, and all who have been at the charge of settling plantations abroad, do expect as well as we.

I shall be very glad to see a tract of the rise and originall of trade written by you. I am confident you can do it well; am apt to think it would find encouragement. But then, if I might advise, you should not meddle with the affairs of Ireland or Scotland.

I am, Sir, your most humble servant, *John Cary.*

To Edmund Bohun esq.

The Greeks were the next great planters. They repeopled all the coasts of the Euxine sea and the Propontis, and all the islands in the Archipelago and the Adriatick sea or gulph of Venice, the south end of Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and as far as Marseilles in France. At first they were as free as the mother cities; but afterwards, Athens, Sparta, Corinth, and some others began to usurp a dominion over them, which caused wars and ended in the ruin of the Grecian liberty, all subjected, by that means, to the Macedonians first and Romans after.

All the Macedonian colonies were settled on the maine continent of Asia and Egypt; and it had that effect, the Romans planted colonies, for the same end, over all the countries they subdued; a catalogue of which you have in Ferarius his lexicon, in the word 'Colonia.' These people never wasted their city by colonies. The slaves they brought home, in time were manumitted and became Romans. So that Rome grew still, till Constantine ruined that city by building Constantinople.

In the fourth century the northern nations regorgitated such swarms of men that they pulled up the Roman empire in the west by the roots. Then the Saxons, Franks, Huns, Longobards, Goths, Vandals, etc. poured into the warmer civilized countries and subdued them; and their posterity possess those countries to this day. In the eighth century the Danes and Normans did the like. After them followed the Turks, Tartars, and, a little before them, the Saracens. These are the great mutations that have happened in the world on this account.

Now, to consider the effect that followed. Canaan being exhausted of its inhabitants by her colonies, David subdued all the sea coasts except Tyre, which was finally ruined by the Chaldeans after Jerusalem was taken and burnt by them. Greece, being weakened by its colonies and civil wars, fell, first as to Asia under the Persians, as to Greece under the Macedonians first and then under the Romans, and at last under the Turks.

Carthage was ruined by three unsuccessful wars, being much wasted by her colonies in Sicily, Spaine, Corsica, and Sardinia. Rome perished by dividing her empire and building a new city and the violence of the northern nations.

Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Jutland, Fimmack, all the north of Germany, and Russia became so dispeopled by the conquest of the Roman empire that they have scarce been able, in so many ages, to raise men enough to subsist. Jutland, from whence our ancestors came, was desolate in Bede's time. Germany, being thus exhausted, was conquered by Charles the great; and Russia and Poland and all the Seythian nations were overrun and many of them intirely extirpated by the Tartars. Arabia, Persia, Syria, and the lesser Asia were all overrun by the Turks; so that the Saracens enjoy nothing but Arabia, not worth conquering, and Barbary. All the rest is wrested from them by the Turks (a Seythian nation) Persians (Turks originally) Tartars and Spaniards, etc.

So that now I come to my up-shot, the first thing in my intention. All these

nations that have conquered or planted larger and better countries than their own have at last been dispeopled and conquered by another nation. I only except Norway, Denmark, Sweden, and Finmark; and the reason why they have escaped a foreign conquest is very plaine. Spaine is so weakened that it is morally impossible she should subsist another century of years against the French and Moors; and it standes now by the assistance of the English and Dutch, and not by her own strength. England is not in a much better condition. Scotland is going to do the same thing, and lett no man hinder it.

If I were now to be asked what shall be done to prolong our days upon the earth, I answer, put an end to your domestic factions; not by oppressing one party to exalt the other, as is now done, but by equal kindness to all. (2) Naturalize as many as you can draw over into the nation. (3) Use Scotland and Ireland well; for we cannot subsist without them; and if we provoke them to rebellion again we shall not, in a few years, be in a condition to reduce them by force. (4) Use the plantations in America very kindly, because they, being so remote, will soon be too strong to be forced, in the weak condition we are entering into. (5) Make as few foreign wars as is possible to waste our people. These are things of much more consideration than the engrossing the trade of the world into our hands, if it were possible. Money without hands to defend it, will both invite and reward a conqueror, as it happened at Tyre twice, Gaza, Constantinople and Rome; and, in our days, in China, not for want of people, no nation being like it in that poynt, but for want of martial valour and skill in war.

I need add no more but that I am, sir,

Your friend and servant,

These for Mr. John Cary, a Bristol merchant,

L. BORN.

at Richard's Coffee house, near Temple Bar, London.

MR. BORN TO MR. CARY.

Sir,

July 31st, 1696.

Your last letter to me was only a desire that I should name to you some bookseller of Ipswich to whom you might send some of your books, for the spreading the knowledge of it. Our men of that trade are so poor and have so small a vent for books, that I durst not do it; believing you would get nothing for them, and so I should see me to have betrayed you into that loss. Whilst I was thus debateing the thing with myself the letter was worne up in my pocket, and never came to the file as is usual with me. So that I cannot send you either a copy or the original now. My correspondence with you after that time was intermitted for want of a subject, and upon the uneasiness the money has brought upon me and the whole country.

I believe it is the same with you; yet rather than a blank paper I shall send you a narrative how it went with us in the east. In January last there was no silver to be had. All that passed was gold; so that I told my labourers I must pay

them in guinees. No sooner was the clipped money cried down, but all the gold was drawn off and small clipped silver money became so plentiful and was thrust upon us so impudently, that no man knew what to do. The 1th of May and whole year's tax being paid in and passed, out comes another sort of money hoarded before, shillings of ninepence, sixpences of threepence, half crowns of about twenty pence apiece. These pass awhile till men, beginning to weigh them, found the defect; and, the king's receivers refusing them, they began to fall to their real value by weight."

Our justices of the peace, in our last sessions, threatened to prosecute all that weighed the silver money; and many were presented. Upon this, the small money stopped, and nobody would take it at any rate. The Londoners sent down the small money in good quantities; but when it was returned to them would not receive one penny of it.

No trade is managed but by trust. Our tenants can pay no rent. Our corn factors can pay nothing for what they have had, and will trade no more. So that all is at a stand; and the people are discontented to the utmost. Many self-murders happen, in small families, for want; and all things look very black; and should the least accident put the mob in motion no man can tell where it would end.

The whole blame falls on the commons of England; and very much they are decried by the lower rank of men, who before were the great admirers of them. The rest think now as before, and have met only with what was expected from them.

I was of opinion that the clipped money ought to have been suppressed, in one day, by proclamation, to have gone for the future at 5s. 2d. per ounce; the loss to have been borne by the present possessors; and printed half a sheet of paper to that purpose. This would not serve the interest of the bankers and moneyed men. So the king, the body of the nation, the gentry and nobility were to be sacrificed to them that had plainly brought this mischief on the nation; and so it was.

We are plainly out in all our computations. There is now above six millions of clipped money in the people's hands; not one million of good money of the old stamp; but one, of the new; the gold all hoarded or transported in a discontent, together with the milled money that is not wrested from men by their necessities.

And what is now to be done? Why, that which should have been done at first. The nation has plainly lost all that was given to make good the defect; and if as much more is given it will be swallowed in the same gulf. We are now in a worse condition than at Michaelmass last, and shall be worse at next Lady than we are now; till the nation sink under the burthen of the publick taxes.

Nor can the wit of man find any other remedy than the bringing the clipped money to the ballance, which will equal it with the milled money. And till this is done the

*See Ruding, 'Annals of the coinage,' 3rd ed. ii, 45, 48, 51; Evelyn's Diary, ii, 50, 53, 54.

milled money will be hoarded and the clipped money be only current; each man thrusting the foreseen loss upon his neighbour.

When the number of miserable men that are trusted too far, becomes too great, they will look out sharp for a deliverer; and who that may be God only knowes.

In short, and for a conclusion, I know no law against weighing the silver any more than the gold money. I will take none but by weight; and I would advise you and all yours to do the same. All our tradesmen here go upon this method; and, I hear, at London they do the like. The Exchequer will take none but what, if weighed, will hold good; so that the body of the nation is in a faire way to over-rule the wisdom of their representatives for this once.

I know you are a great friend to republicks; and Athens, will give you an instance of this nature, which they were at last forced to refer to the honesty and wisdom of Solon, who saved them from ruine. We have a *Solon* too, but our people, as well as they pretend to love him, would not trust him; but they have since made him a noble amendes, by the Voluntary association, as they think.

Assuredly, sir, a man has need of a great portion of the stoick philosophic to enable him to bear, with any tolerable patience, the follies and ill actions of men.

But our christianity may yet enable us to do it, if the thing is not carried too far for humane patience. And in the mean time methinks there is no doctrine in the world so needful as that of *passive obedience*, in our present circumstances; for when all our money, our credit, and our subsistence is gone, and we are exposed to all the fraudes of knaves, the violence of oppressors, and the cheats of hypocrites, it is plain we shall have need of much patience to preserve us from seeking to be delivered before the time that God has appointed.

To him I refer our state; and rest, sir,

Your very affectionate friend and servant,

Thos. for Mr. John Cary, merchant,
at his house in Bristol.

L. B.



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() The figures in parentheses refer to the genealogical sheet prefixed to page vii.

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